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**Music and Mission: A Case Study of the Anglican-Xhosa Missions of the
Eastern Cape, 1854-1880**

Philip Timothy Burnett

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the
requirements for award of the degree of**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine the music and soundscape of the Anglican-Xhosa missions established in the Eastern Cape region of South Africa in the mid-nineteenth century. The objective is to explore the ways in which music and sounds – a daily part of life on these missions – shaped people’s behaviours, their interactions, and their beliefs, both religious and cultural. Focussing on the thirty-year period following the establishment of the Anglican-Xhosa missions in 1854 I investigate how hybrid musical forms arose from the diverse contributions made to the soundscape by British missionaries and indigenous people, both converted and unconverted. The underlying theme of my argument is the role of the acoustic and semantic reforming of music and sounds in shaping the engagement and exchanges between missionaries and indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century.

The evidence is drawn from missionary reports and journals, and print resources such as periodicals, pamphlets, hymnbooks, histories and ethnographies. From these I identify the main elements of the mission soundscape, the genres and forms of music making, and the music makers themselves. Chapter 1 examines the backgrounds of Anglican missionaries and where music sat in their social, cultural and religious frameworks. Chapter 2 focusses on the soundscape and the indigenous musical cultures of the Eastern Cape before 1854. Chapter 3 then looks at the acoustic and semantic shaping of the mission soundscape through three case studies of musical instruments, bells and processions. Chapter 4 focusses on music in missionary education and the function of musical literacy. The final two chapters focus on the adaptation and translation of hymns and the implications of these processes. This thesis contributes to our understanding of British missionary activity overseas in the nineteenth century and the factors that contributed towards its complex legacies, both in the past and in the present.

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For my parents

There is a proverb in isiXhosa which translates as ‘A bird builds its nest with the feathers of others.’ A PhD is a solitary endeavour, but it cannot be completed alone. While working on this one there have been many people who kept me company in different ways. Both their number and the extent of my gratitude to them are too great to include here. I would, however, like to put on record those who have been especially influential in shaping this project.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Professor Emma Hornby and Professor Robert Bickers, my supervisors. As my intellectual pilots they have challenged and inspired me. It has been a singular privilege to work with two such distinguished scholars and to learn so much from them.

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I am grateful to the staff at the University of Bristol Library Services, the Bodleian Libraries, the National Library of South Africa, and the British Library, especially: Lucy McCann, archivist of the Commonwealth & African Collections at the Bodleian, and all the staff who fetched boxes or helped me find things; Melanie Geustyn and the staff at the Grey Collection, Cape Town; and Gillian Fewings, archivist at the University of St Mark and St John.

Archivists and librarians make projects like this one possible. I salute them.

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Two final thanks. This thesis grew out of a conversation I had with Stephen Holder on a journey from Keiskammahoek to Grahamstown in 2008. I am grateful to Stephen for encouraging me to take that conversation further. *Kea leboha, Ntare*. Finally, I thank my parents, *sine quibus non*. They have been very good about not constantly asking me how it is going, and I thank them for this. They have also been a sure source of encouragement and love throughout not only the course of this project, but also my whole life. I dedicate this work to them.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: DATE:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
Marjon	Archive of St Mark's College, Chelsea, University of St Mark and St John, Plymouth
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
USPG	Archive of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Bodleian Library, Oxford

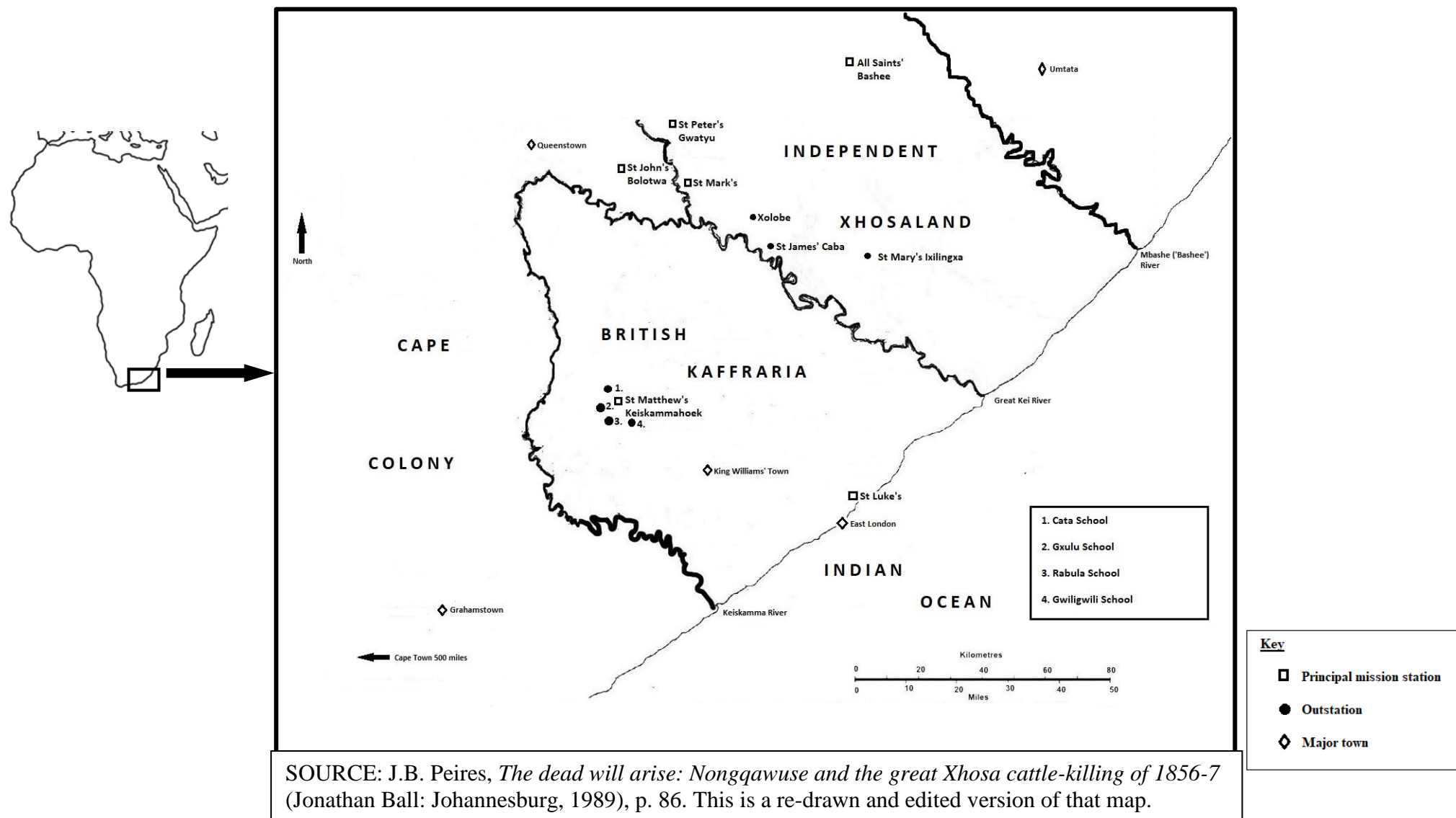
NOTE ON THE USE OF LANGUAGE

Throughout this thesis, ‘amaXhosa’ or ‘Xhosa’ refers to the people (where necessary, groups and clans are specified), and ‘isiXhosa’ always refers to the language spoken by them. isiXhosa is a Bantu language of the Nguni family, and spoken, in several dialects, throughout the Eastern Cape region of South Africa. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

The term ‘indigenous’ is used to refer to an original inhabitant, or inhabitants, of South Africa. As missionaries worked among a diverse population of indigenous people I often use this term to refer to anyone or a group that was not British or ‘white’ settler. Where necessary I specify a particular ethnic group. In this thesis I quote language and terminology which today is considered offensive. I have left such language unchanged and always place it within quotation marks. My intention is not to be offensive, but rather to present the historical records unaltered. I have not standardised the spellings of place names, but have provided, where possible, the modern equivalent.

Quotations from the Bible are always from the *King James Version*, and Psalms are always from the Coverdale translation.

MAP, SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE PLACES NAMED IN THIS THESIS



INTRODUCTION – Music and Mission

Music and mission: hearing the present and the past

This thesis examines the Anglican missions established among the Xhosa-speaking peoples in the mid-nineteenth century focussing on the nature of their music making in the period 1854-1880. Using this setting as a case study, the purpose of this thesis is to offer an approach which enables us to explore the nature and significance of the musical acts we find documented in the mission archive, and to provide an understanding of how they characterised the experience of mission life. Through an examination of journals, letters and other records written by people who were involved in music making, I explore the function of music in mission. I identify and unpack the values and meanings that music had for the people of the mission field. Ultimately, this thesis contributes towards our understanding of the legacy left by nineteenth-century foreign British missions and the cultural practices which existed on them.

The origins of this thesis lie in my own aural experience. On a Sunday in June 2008, I attended a church service at St Matthew's, Keiskammahoek, in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape province, South Africa. The service combined Matins (Morning Prayer), with Holy Communion (Eucharist), and took place in a church building whose architectural layout and style spoke of the British, and specifically Anglican, heritage of the place (see Figure 0.1). The centrally-placed altar, the choir stalls facing each other, and the neo-Romanesque style of the windows are all features that are found in many churches built in Britain, and indeed the British world at large, in the mid-nineteenth century. The service was conducted in isiXhosa, and the music to which portions of the text were sung was a combination of monophonic chant melodies, four-part psalm chants, and hymn tunes: a collection of styles whose origins were easily identifiable as British and Anglican. The combination of isiXhosa and Anglican music sounded at once both 'African' and 'British', but what seemed to my ears like a mismatch was delivered quite naturally by the congregation. Categorising it as 'British', 'Anglican' or 'Xhosa' was not appropriate, for as the congregants made the music all these elements blended into what was a style within itself. This experience is the basis for one of the aims of this thesis: to provide an account of how of this present-day style of Anglican-Xhosa music making developed.

Figure 0.1 Interior of St Matthew's Church, Keiskammahoek



Source: The Author, 2008

What I heard was part of an historical process that began when St Matthew's was founded as an Anglican mission station 154 years prior to my visit. Established in 1854, St Matthew's formed part of a group of four mission stations in the region known today as the Eastern Cape, but what was then called British Kaffraria. British Kaffraria was administered by the government of the Cape Colony and fell in the ecclesiastical territory of the Diocese of Grahamstown.¹ Over the next fifty years this group expanded to form a network of mission stations and outposts. The missionaries who went to work on the mission stations were supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and their intention was to Christianise amaXhosa.² amaXhosa were the groups of Nguni-speaking peoples who had

¹ The stations, named after the four Gospel Evangelists, were St Matthew's, St Mark's, St Luke's, and St John's. See map, p. x.

² The S.P.G. was founded in 1701 as an Anglican international missionary society. Initially its aim was to be a pastoral and religious presence among the settlers of British colonies. By the time of the establishment of the Eastern Cape missions, it had developed into a proselytising society whose main concern had become the conversion to Christianity of indigenous people

occupied the region since before the sixteenth century.³ In the 1850s, after a series of intermittent conflicts between the amaXhosa chiefs and British forces from the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey (1812-98; Governor of the Cape Colony, 1854-61) proposed a non-military strategy to attempt to subjugate amaXhosa by disseminating British religion and culture through amaXhosa society.⁴ Hence, Grey devised a plan with the bishop of Capetown, Robert Gray (1809-72), to build a network of mission stations in order to create a religious and cultural presence in the area.⁵

This historical background highlights one of the contexts in which missionaries and their music existed. Colonialism was one of these: missionaries were aided by the colonial government and were agents of British cultural practices. But as Brian Stanley has argued of nineteenth-century British missions, their general and primary motive was to spread the Gospel and establish Christian communities.⁶ Certainly, there were times when the projects of Christian mission and colonialism or imperialism overlapped, and this is one of the central topics for debate in the historiography of nineteenth-century missions. Images such as that of St Luke's mission depicted with the English flag flying above the mission church

in British colonies. There are three official histories of the S.P.G. which trace in detail the Society's original aims and subsequent activities: C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1901); H.P. Thomson, *Into all lands: the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1895* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951); and Daniel O'Connor (ed.), *Three centuries of mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000* (London: Continuum, 2000). I draw on these three sources for much of the information used in this and the next paragraph.

³ Paul S. Maylam, *A History of the African People of South Africa: from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s* (London: Croom Helm, 1986). amaXhosa is the term I use throughout this thesis and refers collectively to the groups of Nguni speaking peoples who had occupied the region since before the 16th century

⁴ The wider historical context of the Eastern Cape during the period 1855 – 1900 has been the subject of several extensive studies. The two standard works are Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: the epic of South Africa's creation and the tragedy of the Xhosa people* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1992), and J.B. Peires, (i) *The House of Phalo: A history of the Xhosa people in the days of their independence* (Jonathan Ball: Johannesburg, 1981); (ii) *The dead will arise: Nongqawuse and the great Xhosa cattle-killing of 1856-7* (Jonathan Ball: Johannesburg, 1989).

⁵ For an example of a study of the cultural legacy of mission, see Andre Odendaal, *The story of an African game: Black cricketers and the unmasking of one of cricket's greatest myths, South Africa, 1850-2003* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2003), which examines cricket and the ways in which it supported this missionary project.

⁶ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

demonstrate the complex and often conflicting relationship that existed between mission and British imperial or colonial identities.⁷

Soundscaping the mission archive

While it was sound itself that prompted the research for this thesis, it is not possible to analyse any actual historical sounds. There are no phonographs or shellac disks which captured the early music making at stations like St Matthew's. My focus on the sonic is akin to that of Marie Jorritsma, who asserted in her study of coloured church communities in the Karoo region of South Africa that the history of a regional church music tradition can be found in its sound, which she treats as an archive.⁸ By contrast, this thesis draws on what we must think of in narrow and broad terms as the mission archive.⁹ The main source is the archive of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This consists of reports, letters, and journals from missionaries, as well as various miscellaneous items, such as examples of printing, some visual material, and pamphlets. My method was to work through a series and pull out all references which were made to any form of musical activity. This included descriptions of singing, music chosen for certain occasions, and musical resources. This primary research provided the basis for my account of music making on the Anglican missions of the Cape. This material alone was insufficient, and I found that information was required from elsewhere. For example, the hymnbooks I examine in Chapter 6 were not sent to the S.P.G. in London, but rather to the Grey Library in Cape Town, which now form part of the National Library of South Africa. The Grey Library was established by George Grey, governor of the Cape. His collection of printed materials from Britain, Europe and Africa, was bequeathed in order to form the basis of a national collection for the Cape and South Africa.¹⁰ There I also looked at missionary reports which were not held in the Bodleian Library collection, and these added to the information I had already gathered.

⁷ G.A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, 1840-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 218.

⁸ Marie Jorritsma, *Sonic spaces of the Karoo: the sacred music of a South African coloured community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), pp. 41-4.

⁹ For some of the uses to which the missionary archive has been put see the editors' discussion and contributions in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton, eds., *Mission encounters: sources and issues* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996).

¹⁰ The Grey Collection is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

The primary material draws attention to a further aim of this thesis: to habilitate into mission historiography a consideration of the sounds we find recorded in the archive. This is necessary because not only did music require active participation, but also because sound and music making were a daily feature of mission life and the archive shows us that. Instruments such as harmoniums and seraphines were played by the missionaries themselves, and, with time, by indigenous converts. Other musical commodities which were disseminated in the area included printed sheet music, a resource made available by the acquisition of printing presses, from which converts were taught to sing. Both singing and playing happened in a variety of settings which varied from the outdoors to the inside of stone church buildings. The archives talk of ‘hearty singing’, surpliced choirs, instruments being played, bells being rung, and Gregorian tones resonating during outdoor processions. In the textual archive, therefore, there is no shortage of sonic information to analyse.

Consider the following account of a moment of mission musicking. In 1855 when Bishop John Armstrong – the first bishop of Grahamstown – was on a visitation around his newly-established diocese in order to identify sites for mission stations, and to negotiate their establishment with the Xhosa chiefs, he recorded the following story in his journal:

While we were conferring with Umhalla, my wife, surrounded by Kafir women and children, went into the chapel; and bidding them sit down quietly, she played solemn tunes on the harmonium we had brought with us, they sitting like things entranced, with earnest faces and motionless limbs, evidently shewing that sacred music might become a powerful instrument in influencing and softening them. I heard afterwards that one Kafir said, that ‘where there was music, there could be no war;’ and another, listening on Sunday outside the chapel, thought that ‘heaven must be there;’ and another, a very bad fellow, said that he ‘could have almost cried.’¹¹

We have no reason to distrust the veracity of this account. It no doubt happened, and we can safely assume that there was a chapel, an harmonium, and singing. This is my approach throughout the thesis: I do not contend that we should distrust what is recorded in

¹¹ T.T. Carter, *A Memoir of John Armstrong, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Grahamstown* (Oxford: John Henry & James Parker, 1857), p. 301. Umhalla was a Xhosa chief in whose territory the mission station of St Luke’s was established. The word ‘Kafir’ was used here by Armstrong to refer to the Xhosa-speaking people who were present. ‘Kafir’ derived from the Arabic word for ‘infidel’. In the mid-nineteenth century it appeared in a variety of spellings, and was used to refer to the Nguni-speaking groups in South Africa, amaXhosa being one of these. Today the word is regarded in South Africa as offensive and derogatory.

the mission archive or treat it as fiction, but Armstrong's vignette highlights some of the ways in which musical representations operated in missionary discourse. He emphasised the importance of music to missionary work: in his view, it had a pacifying effect, and seemed to entrance the Xhosa who were present. We can see, therefore, that missionaries viewed music as an important and useful part of their work

From missionary representations, however, we only get one side of the musical interaction: the direction of musical sound and discourse is from missionaries to indigenous people and we need to find ways to counter this. For instance, we don't know how accurate the quotations in this passage are and if the missionaries, whose linguistic competence varied, were providing words which reflected their own version of events or were relying on translations of indigenous interpreters and informants. But when interpreting missionary discourse, we have to be aware that the musical dynamic had a two-way direction. The aural characteristics of what is performed 154 years later suggest that Armstrong and his missionaries did not merely impose their musical styles, but that they were adopted by indigenous converts and communities and refashioned, and it is this process that I seek to articulate by examining the historical sources available to us.

My starting point was in 2008 and I proposed that what was heard was the result of a historical process, and that this thesis is about understanding how the music got to that particular point. We have ample sonic evidence which confirms that places like St Matthew's were full of music. But while we can read about sound that existed, we cannot hear it – the only trace that remains is a legacy in the present and what I am trying to do in this thesis is to bridge the gap between what we know existed and what we cannot hear, and to show how this accounts for what happened in 2008. This requires developing a framework for conceptualising music and missions that takes into account the context in which mission music sounded, the very nature of music itself, and what this can add to our understanding of nineteenth-century missions.

Sounding the archive: theoretical approaches to missions and music

Music as a topic of enquiry in the historiography of missions in the nineteenth-century British world has received scant and scattered consideration. For example, the volume on missions in the Oxford History of the British Empire companion series lists 'music' in the index, but this

only directs the reader to a passing reference to the singing of sea-shanty hymns.¹² There is a significant and growing body of scholarship pertinent to the theme of missions and music which examines how imperialism, writ large, shaped music (and other art forms) in Britain and the British world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and here Jeffrey Richards' work is a notable example.¹³ Other scholars, like Bennet Zon, have examined the ways in which music was used to support contemporary intellectual ideas, such as evolution, race theory, and other forms of knowledge which were brought back to Britain from the colonial world.¹⁴ Stephen Banfield has explored the movement of musical goods, artefacts, and people around the nineteenth-century British world and the networks of knowledge that these movements facilitated.¹⁵

If music, as this scholarship shows us, is understood as being a means to represent and reflect a set of practices shared by a local group or community, it follows that an approach to music and mission is required which draws out music's cultural functions. The work of Edward Said and David Cannadine has done much to alert scholars to the importance of culture in understanding the British Empire and its various facets, including mission.¹⁶ As Cannadine notes, '[T]he British Empire was not only a geopolitical entity: it was also a culturally created and imaginatively constructed artefact.'¹⁷ While culture opens up the possibility of ways to understand musical acts as showing something about how societies were constituted, cultural imperialism, writ large, is problematical. Scholars such as Ryan Dunch and Andrew Porter have argued that analysing missions through the broad lens of

¹² John Barker, 'Where the Missionary Frontier Ran Ahead of Empire', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 86-106 (p. 96).

¹³ Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and music: Britain, 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). Also, Stephen Banfield's 'Anglophone musical culture in Jamaica', in *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and his worlds*, ed. by Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, Gillian and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz (Yale: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 138-49.

¹⁴ Bennett Zon, *Representing non-Western music in nineteenth-century Britain* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007).

¹⁵ Stephen Banfield, 'Towards a history of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies', in *Britishness abroad: transnational movements and imperial cultures*, ed. by K. Darian Smith, P. Grimshaw and S. Macintyre (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007), pp. 63-90.

¹⁶ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).

¹⁷ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 3.

cultural imperialism presupposes a unidirectional flow of cultural knowledge, and risks losing sight of how the missionary encounter shaped both Western and non-Western societies.¹⁸

A cultural approach to music, therefore, requires a balanced assessment of the many forces which shaped what came to constitute mission musical culture. This could be termed a broad view of a local picture, meaning that we attend to music's quotidian operation which, in the context of mission, was a means for giving daily expression to beliefs and religious identities which were constantly changing as people reengaged with each other and new forms of knowledge. In other words, mission music, like mission culture, was not a homogenous monolith, but rather prone to taking on new forms and features according to context and circumstance.

In order to take into account the shifting nature of mission music, the absence of any audio or sonic material, and musical source material that is textual rather than found in scores, I adopt a conceptual framework which draws on three main areas of scholarship. First, I consider the ways in which music reflects networks and connections and here there is a substantial body of thought from the disciplines of musicology and history on which to draw. Musicologists such as Gary Tomlinson have analysed musical works and musical acts as sites of multiple, fluid and constantly-changing meanings, which are contingent on context – social, personal, cultural and historical.¹⁹ This is complemented by a view shared by many historians who have developed ways to think about the nineteenth-century British world not as a homogenous monolith, but rather as being made up of connections and networks of cultural, ideological and religious practices and beliefs that were constructed and reconstructed by people over multiple spaces, but ultimately enacted and fashioned locally.²⁰ Music, as an ephemeral art, was constantly shifting and changing with each performance and so this way of understanding music will enable us to understand both the many influences

¹⁸ Ryan Dunch, 'Beyond cultural imperialism: cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity', in *History and Theory* 41 (2002), 301-25. Andrew Porter, "'Cultural imperialism" and protestant missionary enterprise, 1780-1914', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25 (1997), 367-91.

¹⁹ For example, Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance magic: towards a historiography of others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

²⁰ See, for example, G.B. Magee and A.S. Thompson, *Empire and globalisation: networks or people, goods and capital in the British World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and the contributions in David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial lives across the British Empire: imperial career in the long nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

that had a bearing on music, and also shows us the ways in which music brought the universal into contact with the local, and vice versa.

Second, I draw on literature that articulates the nature of musical encounters. Kofi Agawu has reminded musicologists that analysis should always keep in mind ‘that there are different kinds of musical knowledge, and that these are constituted in a complex variety of ways.’²¹ Colonial encounters – of which those in the mission field were a type – have come to be viewed as ‘multifaceted engagements’, representative of what Frederick Cooper has described as complex and sometime contradictory struggles between competing groups.²² In particular, there are two approaches which I have found useful. The first is John and Jean Comaroff’s in their study of the London Missionary Society and the Tswana. They characterise missionaries’ aims as being at once religious and secular, and while implicating missions as complicit with the imperial project, the Comaroffs use the metaphor of a ‘long conversation’ to characterise the adjustment experienced by missionaries and indigenous people as they became exposed to each other’s ways.²³ In a similar way, and from musicology, D.R.M. Irving’s metaphor of ‘colonial counterpoint’, provides a way to think about the many voices which existed in colonial acts of music making.²⁴ By thinking about mission music in terms of these two metaphors – conversation and counterpoint – my analysis seeks to articulate the kinds of knowledge that musical acts and musical works communicated and to draw out from the archive the voices that were involved.²⁵ Asking these questions of music is important because, as the sketch at the beginning of this introduction illustrates, the reception of music by indigenous people has, in fact, actually made music one of mission’s most enduring missionary legacies.²⁶

²¹ Kofi Agawu, ‘Analyzing Music under the New Musicological Regime’, in *The Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), 297-303 (p. 298).

²² Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in question: theory, knowledge, history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

²³ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), p. 9.

²⁴ D.R.M. Irving, *Colonial counterpoint: music in early modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²⁵ Griffiths, Gareth “‘Trained to Tell the Truth’: Missionaries, Converts, and Narration’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 153-172.

²⁶ Kofi Agawu, *Representing African music: postcolonial notes, queries, positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 6.

Finally, methods for the historical analysis of music have broadened over recent decades and I draw on some of these new approaches.²⁷ There has been a move away from analysing music solely for its formal characteristics, or as an isolated phenomenon devoid of any cultural and social significance.²⁸ Jonathan J.P. Stock's argument that analysing what people actually *do* in particular instances 'is likely to gain enlightening perspectives on the sounds that emerge' seems particularly salient to the subject of this thesis.²⁹ Christopher Small's concept of 'musicking' – looking at how people 'do' music is another useful way to think about the multiple contexts in which music is made.³⁰ Most of the music which is analysed in this thesis is not manifest in 'works' embodied in scores which can be analysed for their formal characteristics, but rather as descriptions in historical documents and more often than not these tell us about what people were doing, musically speaking.³¹ In attempting to achieve an understanding of these documented instances of music making, it is more fruitful to provide an explanation of the historical discourse which places music within its wider contexts, in relation to other historical data. This approach allows musical actions to illuminate the context and vice versa.³²

Finally, a word on my use of 'Anglican-Xhosa'. In light of the points discussed above, throughout this thesis I refer to the missions in this way in order to emphasise that musical influence was a two-way process. As Andrew Porter has observed, the nature of the encounter between Christian missionaries and indigenous societies was 'a constant process of mutual engagement and two-way translation.'³³ Gareth Griffiths has laid down the challenge to historians of mission to develop methodologies that draw out the 'native voice' from

²⁷ Leo Treitler, 'The Historiography of Music: Issues of Past and Present', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 356-377.

²⁸ For example, John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

²⁹ Jonathan J.P. Stock, 'New musicologies, old musicologies: Ethnomusicology and the Study of Western Music', in *Current Musicology*, 62 (1997), 40-68 (p. 62).

³⁰ For example, see the work of Christopher Small, *Musicking: the meanings of performing and listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

³¹ On the 'work concept', see Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. by J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 6.

³² For more on 'webs of meaning' an approach and understanding of musical works on which this dissertation draws, see Gary Tomlinson, 'The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology' in *19th Century Music*, 7:3 (1984), 350-62.

³³ Andrew Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', in *The Oxford history of the British Empire, volume 3, the nineteenth century*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 222-46 (p. 239).

documents in which it appears suppressed.³⁴ While the mission archive may largely be the work of British missionaries, and reflect their views, it also tells us that congregations of indigenous people were actively involved in making music. Music is an active process and it involved indigenous people. In this thesis I show how close analysis of moments of indigenous participation in mission music making provides a means to draw out what might otherwise be silenced voices, and, viewed in this way, adds a further level to our understanding of the nature of missionary encounters.

Chapter summaries

This thesis is structured around the three prominent elements of mission music making: people, sounds, and forms of expression. I have selected these because they are the most prominent musical features of the archival material, and they represent best the dynamic, changing nature of music making which I wish to draw out for analysis. The analysis is based on archival sources, and will focus on the ways in which documented music was imagined and thought about, and what its significance was for the people involved in its realisation. The period with which this thesis is concerned is, in the main, 1854-c.1880. The starting point coincides with the establishment of the Anglican-Xhosa missions. This was a moment of ‘Anglican Reckoning’ in the Eastern Cape. With the support of the colonial government, the Anglicans had the motivation, both financial, political, and religious, to drive a mission project among the local indigenous people. The late 1870s saw a resumption of the conflicts between Britain and the local indigenous peoples, and precipitated a withdrawal of government support for the Anglican-Xhosa missions. This periodisation allows us to see the place of music in the very early stages of a mission project that was establishing itself and coming up against a series of challenges from within and without. There are other reasons as well. As we shall see, music was closely-linked to the development of print culture and by the late 1870s Anglican missions had begun producing musical print materials. This period allows us to see in operation the shift from an aural- to a print-based musicality.

But the roots of musical exchange really began before 1854 and we need to understand this as well. Accordingly, the first two chapters set this up with an examination of

³⁴ Gareth Griffiths, “‘Trained to Tell the Truth’: Missionaries, Converts, and Narration’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 153-172 (p. 155).

the framework of attitudes, presuppositions and prejudices that came to influence the music making of the Anglican-Xhosa missions.³⁵ In Chapter 1 I examine the musical cultures from which British missionaries came, and seek to establish what the importance was of the music that they set out to introduce into the mission field. In Chapter 2 I explore and discuss what informed missionary representations of indigenous music making, with a view to providing an understanding of how indigenous musical cultures became intertwined with the forms and styles of music that missionaries sought to import. These two chapters lay the groundwork for the three that follow which each examine how the two broad musical cultures came to co-exist and influence each other. In Chapter 3 I focus on the soundscape of the mission station and the function that music, and sounds, more broadly, were given in the daily life of mission stations. In the next chapter I examine the educational programme of Anglican missionaries, and the function music had in this sphere of the Anglican Xhosa missions. The final two chapters are concerned with hymnody and the musical uses of print literacy, and the implications this had for music making.

A final, concluding remark concerns the interplay between the present and the past. I only dipped into the music-making of the congregation at St Matthew's, and, like any snapshot taken by an outsider, this became fixed in time. Likewise, the source material which I analyse in this thesis inscribed sounds onto paper where they became fixed only to be imagined by those who would come to read about them. Music is, however, something that is continuously reinvented and reinterpreted in each performance, and I hope that this thesis will not only be faithful to the dynamic nature of mission musical acts, but also be read as one possible interpretation of the many ways in which this music was experienced.

³⁵ Here, I am influenced by Nicholas Cook who describes a musical culture as 'a repertoire for imagining the experience of music'. To understand this we need to know more, as Cook notes, about 'the images by which it is represented.' Nicholas Cook, *Music, imagination, and culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 4.

CHAPTER 1 – ‘Men of the Right Stamp’: Making Musical Missionaries

Introduction

What musical knowledge were missionaries required to have? During the nineteenth-century expansion of overseas British missionary activity, music was an inextricable part of mission and wherever missionaries established a presence it was assumed that singing would be a daily part of mission station life. This was no less the case for the Anglican-Xhosa missions, as is evident in this letter, written in 1850, by Robert Gray (1809-72), the first bishop of Capetown:

I may mention that firmness and resolution, combined with gentleness, and steady perseverance amidst discouraging circumstances, a willingness to live in a state of much simplicity and retirement, and some discomfort, and an aptitude for acquiring languages, are essential; and that a knowledge of music, of medicine, and of mechanical arts are requisite [...].¹

Gray outlined the essential criteria for the ideal missionary (he termed them ‘men of the right stamp’) and made it clear that musical ability was a requirement to work on the Anglican-Xhosa missions. This chapter addresses two questions that are raised by Gray’s term ‘a knowledge of music’. The first of these concerns both the nature and extent of the musical experience that Gray wished his missionaries to possess. The second concerns the role that Gray saw for music in mission work, and the benefits he believed musical knowledge would have.² I argue that Gray’s comment shows us that music represented far more than something sonic: it was a necessary and valuable part of a missionary’s qualifications because of its religious, cultural and social significance.

The framework with which I address these questions is in terms of the criteria provided by Gray. In his letter, music is contextualized within a set, or package, of attributes which I believe show that music reflected a variety of values arising out of the social,

¹ *The Calendar of the Missionary College of St Augustine, Canterbury For the Year of Our Lord, 1858* (Canterbury: St Augustine’s College), p. 82. The letter from which this comes was written in 1850 by Gray to Henry Bailey, Principal of St Augustine’s, and published in a section called, ‘Extracts from Letters of Colonial Bishops and others respecting the want of Missionaries and their necessary qualifications.’

² Both of these questions will be addressed in this chapter, while the second will continue to receive attention over the course of this dissertation.

religious and cultural contexts in which it was practised. It is important to understand the ways in which music shaped the personal experiences of missionaries, and how it informed the ways in which they identified and defined themselves within their society and culture – both from which they came and that to which they went.³ Furthermore, as music-making was so ubiquitous in the mission field, it follows that a large part of how missionaries viewed themselves and their world was expressed through music. What they sang or knew about music, before they got to the mission field tells us something about how they would behave when they arrived in the mission field.⁴

The social, economic, class and religious backgrounds of British Protestant missionaries working overseas during the nineteenth century have been well researched and documented.⁵ So far, however, no one has attempted to relate the social and religious contexts of missionaries to their musical practice. Richard Price, for example, offers a thorough overview of the making of missionary culture in the London Mission Society (L.M.S.), but does not look at the relationship between music and the socially-organised individuals who practised it.⁶ Much can be gained from an understanding of this relationship, for music has the power not only to shape how social relations and individual subjectivities

³ For a similar assertion, see Susan McClary, *Conventional wisdom: The content of musical form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), esp. p. 7.

⁴ On the importance of examining missionaries based on what they said and sang, see John W. De Gruchy, “‘Who Did They Think They Were?’ Some Reflections from a Theologian on Grand Narratives and Identity in the History of Missions”, in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 213-25 (p. 214).

⁵ The body of literature is vast. The pioneer, in many respects, of literature on the background of missionaries is T.O. Beidelman, ‘Social Theory and the Study of Christian Mission in Africa’, *Africa*, 44:3 (1974), 235-49. For more justifications of the importance of missionary backgrounds see, *inter alia*, S.C. Potter, ‘The social origins and recruitment of English Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1975); Norman Etherington, ‘Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa: a South African case study’, *Africa*, 47:1 (1977), 31-40; and John L. Comaroff, ‘Images of empire, contexts of conscience: models of colonial domination in South Africa’, in *Tensions of Empire: colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*, ed. by Laura Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 163-97. For the recruitment of Protestant missionaries, see Stuart Piggin, *Making evangelical missionaries, 1789-1858: the social background, motives and training of British protestant missionaries to India* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984).

⁶ Richard Price, *Making empire: colonial encounters and the creation of imperial rule in nineteenth-century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Theodor Adorno highlights the importance of the relation between socially organised individuals and the music they practice. See Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, trans. by E.B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1989), p. 1.

are experienced, but it is also a means with which members of social groups identify with each other. It can also provide a view of the cultural webs in which these individuals functioned.⁷

In this chapter, then, I shall explore the making of missionary musical culture by applying these frameworks to three case studies of missionaries who were in the first cohort to go out to South Africa. These will show the kinds of musical knowledge that missionaries acquired, and how the process of musical knowledge formation took place within the societies from which they came.⁸ It is difficult to present the case studies in their own words, because, as far as we know, there are no first-hand accounts written by any of them for the period covered.⁹ The chapter draws on a variety of primary historical materials, such as baptism, marriage, and death certificates, to help pinpoint these characters at particular times and in particular places. School and educational records, and prescribed reading lists indicate the priorities and values of those supervising the institutions and organisations through which these men moved. This will construct a profile of the music which these men encountered, with the objective of working towards an understanding of what music might have meant to them, and to the societies and cultures in which they lived. This will lead to a new understanding of the ways in which the music of missions reproduced and reflected the thought processes of the people who performed it.¹⁰

Transformation through musical education: William Greenstock (1830–1912)

Since the 1840s, there had been a movement to improve congregational singing in the wider Church of England. This ran in parallel with an enthusiasm for singing in secular society.

⁷ Jolanta Pekacz, 'Memory, history, and meaning: musical biography and its discontents', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 23:1 (2004), 39-80. On webs of cultural meaning, see Gary Tomlinson, 'The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology', *19th-Century Music*, 7:3 (1984), 350-62.

⁸ Here I follow the approach advocated by Alice Kessler-Harris: '[a]n individual life might help us to see not only into particular events, but into the larger cultural and social and even political processes of a moment in time.' Alice Kessler-Harris, 'Why Biography?', *American Historical Review*, 114:3 (2009), 625-30 (p. 626).

⁹ Compare David Gramit who worked with sources containing first-hand accounts of musical experience. See David Gramit, 'Unremarkable musical lives: autobiographical narratives, music, and the shaping of the self', in *Musical biography: towards new paradigms*, ed. by Jolanta Pekacz (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 159-78.

¹⁰ For a discussion of music reflecting thought processes of performers see John Shepherd, *Music as social text* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 12.

Thousands participated in singing workshops, led by the likes of John Hullah and John Curwen, and learnt to sing in tonic sol-fa, a form of musical literacy popular at the time. This resulted in the nineteenth century in Britain being dubbed as a time of ‘national musical awakening’. Whether for sacred or secular performance, the act of singing was imbued with transformative powers, with upward social mobility, and personal improvement as people came to believe in the ‘brightening influence of song.’¹¹ To examine this wider national, societal and religious movement on a more local, individual level, I start with a case study of William Greenstock.

A village musical education

Greenstock was born in 1830 into a family of agricultural labourers in rural Somerset, by all accounts a lowly start to life.¹² Details of the musical activity in Greenstock’s early life are sketchy, and we can only surmise what music might have filled his ears. Few musical records for his parish church at Pitcombe survive.¹³ It is known to have had a gallery at the West end of the church, which, as parish accounts indicate, would have been occupied by musicians and singers.¹⁴ Musicians were employed in the 1830s, a practice that continued into the early 1840s until the regular payments were discontinued.¹⁵ Ecclesiastical musical tastes were changing, particularly in the West Country, as peregrinatory country bands were replaced with the organ which was becoming the favoured church instrument.¹⁶ This would

¹¹ W.E. Hickson, *The Singing Master* (1836), ed. by Bernarr Rainbow (Kilkenny: Boethius Press, 1984).

¹² The profession noted in the Census, 1841. Jenny Calder, *The Victorian home* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1977) has researched rural farm workers’ accommodation, see esp. 56-7, and paints a bleak picture of living conditions. ‘The eye of the reformers and improvers was focused more on the cities than the country, for there it was harder to escape the slums and insanitary conditions whose proliferation legislators [...] had not been able to control.’ Much, however, depending on the landlord, and local conditions varied tremendously.

¹³ Most of the information on Hadspen and Pitcombe (unless otherwise acknowledged) comes from A.P. Baggs and M.C. Siraut, *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 7, Bruton, Horethorne and Norton Ferris Hundreds*, ed. by C.R.J. Currie and R.W. Dunning (London, 1999), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/som/vol7> [accessed 10 September 2019], pp. 50-9.

¹⁴ Galleries became less fashionable as the nineteenth century progressed. See John Hullah, *Music in the parish church: a lecture delivered at Newcastle-on-Tyne* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1856), p. 23, which refers to the ‘evils of the singing gallery.’

¹⁵ Somerset Records Office, D/P/pitc/4/1/2, ‘Pitcombe Parish Records: Churchwardens’ accounts, with rates, 1806-1921’.

¹⁶ Nicholas Temperley identifies this as gradually taking place across the West Country throughout the nineteenth century. Increasingly from the 1850s onwards, ‘country bands’ became rarer in the churches of Somerset and Dorset. For a detailed account and regional

suggest that the soundscape of Greenstock's childhood was characterised by the conflicts over church music that feature in Thomas Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*, the action of which is set in the West country, and he witnessed the changes of style and repertoire brought about by the introduction into parish churches of organs and (sometimes) surpliced choirs.

The Greenstock family would almost certainly have attended the local parish church and heard these styles of music for, around 1834, William began school in Pitcombe village, just over a mile away from his family home. This was a 'National School': entry into would have required regular church attendance. Since 1825, Pitcombe had also had a Sunday school: William probably attended and learned singing in it.¹⁷ The educational survey of 1833 shows that Pitcombe parish had a population of 480, and three daily schools with a total of twenty-four pupils in attendance at each one.¹⁸ Most of the pupils attended at the expense of their parents, the remainder being sponsored by private charities. According to this survey there were 35,891 children in Somerset receiving daily educational instruction in some form or another.¹⁹ There is no record of the actual tuition and education William himself received at the Pitcombe schools he attended, but his schooling came at a time when increasing attention was being given towards the basic education of individuals like him.

National Music Education

The concern for basic education in Pitcombe was the local realisation of a broader national development which saw the creation of schools in rural villages. The Pitcombe school was a National School and run under the auspices of what was known as the 'National Society'. This organisation was established in 1811 as the 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church'. The name is clear on the organisation's aims: it was concerned with educating children in the principles and practices of the Church of England in order to create a nation-wide church identity founded

comparison see Nicholas Temperley, *The music of the English parish church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), I, pp. 156-97.

¹⁷ In 1833 it was estimated that there were 16,828 Sunday Schools in Britain with 1,550,000 children regularly attending. Sunday School attendance was on the rise for by 1851, these numbers had risen to 2,400,000 children attending Sunday Schools. See John Burnett, ed., *Destiny obscure: autobiographies of childhood, education and family from the 1820s to the 1920s* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 136-9.

¹⁸ *Education Enquiry. Abstract of Education Returns: 1833* House of Commons (1835) xli, xlii, xliii. 65 (2).

¹⁹ Literacy levels in Somerset in the generation before Greenstock were generally low. See W.B. Stephens, *Education, literacy and society, 1830-70: the geography of diversity in provincial England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 322.

on shared values and practices. From the very beginning of its existence this aim was made clear. Charles Manners-Sutton (1762-1828), then archbishop of Canterbury, said at the founding meeting of the Society on 16th October 1811: '[T]he National Religion should be made the foundation of National Education, and should be the first and chief thing taught to the poor, according to the excellent Liturgy and Catechism provided by our Church.'²⁰

The Society aimed to establish a Church school in every parish, and it set about recruiting society members to be school founders, regional directors, and sponsors. Its initial focus was chiefly on the building of schools and it offered grants to founders for such purposes. The terms and conditions of these awards directed that every school follow the 'Plan of Union', which also outlined the curriculum and ethos of the National Society schools: all teachers were to be members of the Church of England; all pupils attending had to learn the Authorised (King James) Version of the Bible; and all pupils in National Schools had to be instructed in the liturgy and catechism of the Church of England.²¹ William's early education, then, was taking place in the context of an educational revival in Britain, of which the Church of England was a motivator. He was exposed to the language and forms of worship of the Church of England. This was taking place in the context of a revival and evangelical drive in the church to educate children not only in skills of numeracy and literacy, but also in Scripture and doctrine.

Given that Pitcombe School was part of the National Society system, it is likely that there was some provision for musical education in it.²² While it is only possible to speculate about the musical aspects of a National School education, certain characteristics of the educational style, of which any music tuition was a part, can be identified. Uniformity was checked systematically by the Society, whose influence emanated from its headquarters in London. The Society provided advice through publications and sent resources to the parishes.

²⁰ Quoted in Henry James Burgess, *A short history of the National Society, 1811-1961* (London: National Society, 1961). Detail on the National Society school system is drawn from this source, unless otherwise stated.

²¹ James Murphy, *Church, state and schools in Britain, 1800-1970* (London: Routledge, 1971), p. 5.

²² Music was certainly taught in the school of the British and Foreign Society, the National Society's rival organisation. For a description of singing teaching in Borough Road School, Southwark (a British and Foreign Society Model School), see Burnett, *Destiny Obscure*, pp. 172-3. The rivalry between the two organisations was based on churchmanship: the National Society was a 'high church' organisation, whereas the British and Foreign Society was Evangelical. The rivalry is seen also in mission organisations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ('high church') and the Church Mission Society (Evangelical).

Advisers made local visits to consult on the construction of schools, and prescribed details on how they should be finished, on everything from materials to the desired acoustics of classroom buildings. Standardisation was fundamental to achieve the growth and success the Society desired.

The model for schools in the Society's network as provided by the aptly-named 'Central School' at Baldwin's Gardens, the Society's headquarters in London.²³ This provided the model for schools in the Society's network. Instruction was textbook-based, and through the tuition on offer the children who attended became familiar with the Church of England's liturgy. Portions of the Prayer Book (the Lord's Prayer, the Morning and Evening collects) and other prayers for various occasions were committed to memory. Hymns were sung and songs were taught. Arithmetic involved numeracy skills, and multiplication and division, and writing drills were carried out on sand trays or writing slates, with more advanced exercises being written in copy-books. Learning was by rote, and children stood for all their lessons, except writing.

We can see from this that Greenstock was part of an educational system that was carefully managed across the whole country. He became educated in what could be best-described as a satellite system of educational practice which was similar to the model he would later coordinate in the mission field. It was a system of global school management and classroom organisation played a key part in the circulation of knowledge.

St Mark's College, Chelsea

Greenstock's involvement in the National Society system continued when he moved into the next stage of his educational career at the National Society's teacher training institution, St Mark's College, Chelsea. Here he was to spend most of the following three years as he followed a course of teacher training, at the end of which he would have been expected to become a schoolmaster in a National Society school. Through the training, he would learn the benefits of a regular routine, including the importance of the daily religious observance which underpinned the aims of the National Society's scheme of education. It

²³ Burgess, *Short History*, p. 7. Teaching was according to the Madras, or 'monitorial' system. For a discussion of Andrew Bell and the monitorial or 'Madras' system, its development and application, see Jana Tschurennev, 'Diffusing useful knowledge: the monitorial system of education in Madras, London and Bengal, 1789-1840', *Pedagogica Historica*, 44:3 (2008), 245-64.

would also put him on a path of musical education which emphasised the religious benefits of music and its educational importance.

His route into St Mark's is not clear but it was noted in the Entry Register that his fees were paid for Revd John Horner (1810-74), a West Country representative of the National Society.²⁴ Horner was a well-known advocate of music education and taught music in Mells, Somerset, using Hullah's sol-fa system. Perhaps Greenstock, now aged fifteen, had shown ability and promise at his school in Pitcombe, enough, at least, to warrant the award of a scholarship. The Register noted his 'State of Acquirement on Admission' as: 'Reads fluently, Writes badly, Arithmetic Indifferent, English Grammar – very little – Geography below par – History tolerable'. It made no mention of music.²⁵ It is difficult to determine if this was above or below what was expected, but it indicates the basic level of the education Greenstock received in Pitcombe. The only known entry requirements available from this time were vaguely sketched by the College's Principal, Derwent Coleridge (1800-83), son of Samuel Taylor, the poet): pupils were granted entry on the basis of age (between fourteen to seventeen years old); they had to be able to read, spell and write in English; and they had to have some Scripture History. Coleridge noted further that 'a talent for vocal music & drawing is particular [sic.] desirable.'²⁶ Presumably, Greenstock satisfied these requirements sufficiently well to gain a place at St Mark's.

Greenstock was now starting a programme of training which Coleridge described as a 'career of improvement'.²⁷ The expectation was that he would improve in the areas listed. Indeed, improvement, as we shall see, was central to a St Mark's education, and a pathway which Greenstock was later to set for his own missionary congregations. St Mark's aimed to produce a diverse class of teachers equipped with the skills and knowledge to go into the National Schools, and solve the problem of a badly-educated British population, while also

²⁴ Probably John Stewart Hippisley Horner (1810-74), Rector of Mells. See Stephen Banfield, *Music in the West Country: social and cultural history across an English region* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), p. 133; and Wiltshire Records Office, 'Account of his life and that of his family by Richard White ...' 2841/1.

²⁵ Entry Register: Marjon Archives, 'Register N.T.S.C. Stanley Grove', m/1. The register also noted that William became a missionary after leaving St Mark's.

²⁶ Derwent Coleridge, *30th Report of the National Society, 1841*, [Unpublished MS, Marjon Archives], ff. 93-6. Coleridge was the first Principal of St Mark's and held the post from 1841-64.

²⁷ Coleridge, *The National Society's institution for the training of schoolmasters, St. Mark's College, Chelsea* (London: Printed for the Society, 1847).

improving the religious literacy of the population.²⁸ In 1845, it was one of twenty-six teacher training colleges in Britain set up and run under the auspices of the Church of England.²⁹ Greenstock was a fairly typical representative of the type of person who entered St Mark's. The cohort of which he was a part came from a mixture of backgrounds. The Entry Register recorded that some of those who also entered in 1845 came from families whose livelihood relied on a variety of trades and services: blacksmithing, 'service to the gentry', carpentry, grocers, cobblers and farmers, to name a representative few. Other students had parents who were of the professional classes, for example, schoolmasters and naval officers. Greenstock must have shown promise: he shared a similar background with many of his fellow pupils at St Mark's, but was part of a diverse group of pupils all of whom were selected for their youth, and potential to be trained into professional schoolmasters.³⁰ As William was destined for a career as a schoolmaster, I shall outline how music would fulfil the pedagogical aims of the time.

'The daily sight and sound of good'

The pupils who entered St Mark's were divided into three divisions, each corresponding to a year of the training course. There would have been around 50 pupils attending, with the average age closer to 17 (the upper limit for admission) across the three years.³¹ Although Greenstock left no recollections of his own, it is possible to gain a sense of his experience there. The recollections of one of his contemporaries, William Benham, provides a view of what the daily routine for Greenstock would have been like, outlined in Table 1.1.³² The days began at 5.30am with manual work on the school's farm. Before breakfast at 8.15am, pupils recited poetry, received Latin instruction, or applied themselves to private study. An hour-long sung Chapel service followed breakfast, and then it was back to further study before a break for lunch. The afternoon followed a pattern similar to the morning, with the addition of a choir practice and an hour of music instruction. In the evening there was a further hour and a half of studying or reading before lights went out at 10pm.

²⁸ R.W. Rich, *The training of teachers in England and Wales during the nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 85.

²⁹ R.W. Rich, *Training of Teachers*, pp. 80-1.

³⁰ Coleridge, *The National Society's Institution*, p. 6.

³¹ Michael Roberts, ed., *Notes on College History*, (Chelsea: College of St Mark and St John, 1946), p. 28, put the number of pupils in 1846 at 51.

³² 'Canon Benham: St Mark's in 1845' in *Notes on College History*, pp. 22-6.

Through this daily routine, pupils would experience what Coleridge called ‘the daily sight and sound of good’.³³ Music was an integral part of this and, explicitly, seen as the sonic embodiment of what Coleridge desired his pupils to experience. The teacher training included music so that leavers could aid the spread church music into non-urban parish churches.³⁴ From Table 1.1, it can be seen that music was taught across all three years of training. Only mealtimes and, in the second and third years, lesson preparation took up more time. Additionally, pupils were expected to give 30 minutes a day to music practice. John Hutchinson, a pupil who arrived in 1842 (a generation, in St Mark’s terms, before William), claimed, ‘Music was, indeed, even in that early day, a leading feature at S. Mark’s [...] its teaching was thorough – more thorough than anything else.’³⁵ There is no reason to disbelieve this claim. Of the staff of fifteen, three were teachers with responsibility for music. The well-known priest and plainsong scholar, Thomas Helmore (1811-90), held the post of Precentor and Vice-Principal, the former role placing him in charge of training the choir for chapel services. John Pyke Hullah (1812-84), one of the foremost musical pedagogues of the time, taught advanced theory to some pupils (‘thorough-bass and counterpoint’) while the little-known Edward May ‘grounded the rest in the elements.’³⁶ At St Mark’s, Hullah sought to realise his belief that

Every schoolmaster of a rural parish ought to instruct the children in vocal music, and to be capable of conducting a singing class among the young men and women [to] increase the attendance on divine worship among the uneducated.³⁷

In addition to academic music, there was plenty of actual music making: in the chapel, services were ‘fully choral’; and graces composed by Thomas Helmore and William Byrd (1538-1623) were sung before meals. It is likely, therefore, that Greenstock would have found it difficult to escape any musical activity while at St Mark’s, or to leave without at least some knowledge of music theory.

³³ Derwent Coleridge, ‘Aims and Principles’ in *Notes on College History 1840 – 1865*, p. 9. See also Coleridge, *2nd Letter 1840*, p. 56.

³⁴ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, p. 257.

³⁵ John Hutchinson, *Old days at St Mark’s by one of the first comers: reprinted from the Year Book of 1914* (s.l., c. 1913).

³⁶ ‘College Music’ in *Notes on College History*, p. 32.

³⁷ John Hullah, *Wilhelm’s method of teaching singing, adapted to English use &c by John Hullah – Part the First* (London: Parker and Son, 1862), p. iv.

Table 1.1 The Timetable at St Mark's in 1846 showing the number of hours allotted weekly to each subject

OCCUPATION	Division I h.m.	Division II h.m.	Division III h.m.
Chapel	6 0	6 0	6 0
Evening Worship	3 30	3 30	3 30
Scriptural Knowledge and Christian Doctrine	2 5	3 0	3 40
Church History and Bible Literature	2 20	2 00	2 40
Latin	6 15	6 0	6 0
English Grammar, English Literature, and History	7 10	5 20	6 0
Geography	2 30	2 30	5 20
Writing	0 30	1 20	4 0
Arithmetic	0 20	1 10	3 30
Geometry	2 50	2 25	--
Algebra and Trigonometry	2 20	5 40	--
Mechanics and Natural Philosophy	2 0	0 35	--
Music	7 10	7 10	7 10
Drawing	4 0	4 0	4 0
Normal Lessons	3 0	--	--
Private Reading	1 30	--	--
Preparing Lessons	--	9 0	9 0
Meals	8 45	8 45	8 45
Leisure	6 0	6 0	6 0

Source: *Notes on College History*, p. 28.

The Byzantine Chapel (see Figure 1.1) designed by Edward Blore (1787-1879) was the centre of the College's life: Coleridge referred to it as 'the keystone of the arch'.³⁸ Pupils attended daily services, with the focus of the school day being a fully choral service lasting an hour. Coleridge was explicit about the purpose music was to serve: 'to appreciate the inherent beauty of the Church service, and to regard attendance on public worship was in itself an invaluable privilege; and this is more especially true in the case of those young men by whom the solemnity of the choral method has been most fully appreciated.'³⁹ In it the choir sang the music of William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, William Boyce and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Through Helmore's influence, the chants sung were Gregorian, selected for their 'grandeur' and 'antiquity'.⁴⁰ Through singing in Chapel services, students

³⁸ Derwent Coleridge, *Letter on Training College, Chelsea*, p. 31.

³⁹ Coleridge, *The National Society's Institution*, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁰ *Notes on College History*, p. 27.

became familiar with religious texts, especially through the regular repetition of psalmody and other parts of the liturgy.

Those who ran the school aimed to instil in their pupils a strong sense of Christian mission, for their task would be ‘to cultivate the graces of a Christian life’ in the individuals who they were to teach.⁴¹ Entering St Mark’s, however, meant that Greenstock became part of an institution with a very specific ethos, and while there he would have been socialised into a certain way of thinking about music and its purposes. These purposes were educational and religious, broadly speaking. Furthermore, the College focussed on preparing teachers for a life working in difficult conditions, something specified in Gray’s letter. For instance, St Mark’s students were prepared for a schoolmaster’s life which would be ‘in situations of great retirement, and with a very moderate stipend’. Their classes would be filled with children of ‘the humblest class’, as in the mission field where William would proselytise among ‘heathens’ from which he would draw congregations.

⁴¹ All quotes in this paragraph come from Coleridge, *The National Society’s Institution*, p. 4.

Figure 1.1 St Mark's College Chapel, c. 1844



Source: *Marjon archives*

In the early life and education of a missionary such as William Greenstock, we can see traces of a musical consciousness being developed within a specific social and religious context. We have also seen that Greenstock was exposed to a system of education in which a significant component was a thorough grounding in technical musical knowledge. The practice of this music was liturgical: the ends of the musical education were to enable participation in the liturgy. In the end, Greenstock did not become a lifelong schoolmaster, but this was not exceptional. St Mark's did not have a very high conversion rate when it came to its pupils returning to teach in National Schools.⁴² What we have seen from the case study of Greenstock is that he was educated in a system which encouraged those who were a part of it to raise their expectations and broaden their horizons. 'The daily sight and sound of good'

⁴² R.W. Rich, *Training of Teachers*, p. 95 notes that St Mark's was notorious for the number of students who did not enter into the National Schools system as teachers.

was one prong in the system that encouraged them to do this. In this way, music was being connected to a specific set of principles and values.

The missionary from Newcastle: Henry Waters (1819–1883)

In the case of some missionaries, it is difficult to find any traces of musical training. Such is the case with Henry Waters, who, as we shall see in later chapters, was an active musician in the mission field. No training or experience, however, is evident in his life before he left Britain for the Cape Colony. In such a case, however, the opportunity arises to look at the social and cultural contexts and circumstances from which missionaries came in order to appraise their musical thought, and understand the ways in which music figured in their formation towards missionary life.⁴³

Early life

Waters' early life and education is not clear, but it is possible to work out a little about his family background. Most of what we know of his first 29 years comes from the obituaries published after his death.⁴⁴ He was born on 23 October 1819, in Newcastle upon Tyne, to Ann, and her husband Thomas, a painter.⁴⁵ His older brother, Thomas Waterton Waters, became a bookbinder and, like the most of the family, remained in Newcastle for the rest of his life. At some stage in his twenties, Henry became apprenticed to a haberdasher, Stephen Wilkinson, described by the obituary in the *Newcastle Courant* as a 'highly respected tradesman'. Thus far, he seemed on course to follow an artisan trade like the rest of his family and underwent further education and training, for this (he was later to tell the S.P.G.) was with a view to 'some Commercial pursuit.'⁴⁶

There is nothing to indicate that Henry received any musical tuition, nor that he showed any interest in music. But we do know that he was religious and that he probably

⁴³ Joseph Kerman has argued for the importance of considering the social and intellectual formation of a musical subject because music becomes a vehicle through which to express various aspects of an identity. See his *Contemplating music: challenges to musicology* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 158-9.

⁴⁴ 'Obituary: Archdeacon Waters', *Newcastle Courant*, 28 December 1883, p. 4; Archdeacon Kitton, 'The Late Archdeacon Waters, of St. Mark's, Transkei', *The Mission Field*, 1 March 1884, pp. 78-84.

⁴⁵ Henry's date of birth is recorded in his application to the S.P.G.: USPG, X124, f. 40: 'Missionary Roll 1846-55'.

⁴⁶ USPG, X124, f. 40: 'Missionary Roll 1846-55'.

attended church regularly during the years in which he lived in Newcastle. We can also sketch something of the musical life of the city in which he spent the first 30 years of his life. Understanding the trends that characterised the musical life of the institutions and city of which he was a part will help us to understand some of the values which the society in which Henry grew up associated with music.

Musical life in Newcastle

From the late eighteenth century onwards, as part of a drive to improve the city generally, Newcastle saw a surge of musical activity. St Nicholas Church, the parish in which Henry lived, was not only a prominent feature on the city's landscape, but on its soundscape too.⁴⁷ There had been an organ in St Nicholas since at least the seventeenth century, and musicians employed there before this. Thomas Ions (1817-57), organist of St Nicholas from 1834-57, made a concerted effort to involve the congregation in the musical parts of the liturgy.⁴⁸ Ions was known outside of Newcastle, on account of his book *Cantica Ecclesiastica* (1849), a collection of chants, congregational music and tunes, designed to enhance congregational participation and improve musical standards in church.⁴⁹ The collection had been in use at St Nicholas for some time before its publication, after which it received acclaim further afield. A review in the *Musical Times* commended it as a resource 'to produce a uniformity in the musical services of our churches.'⁵⁰ The review concluded by endorsing the efforts of Ions to improve church music, in particular congregational participation.

Contemporary accounts present Newcastle as a city with an active amateur and professional music scene. Large musical festivals were held annually between 1796 and 1842. These were explicitly linked with improving the lives of the city's citizens.⁵¹ St Nicholas had, from the inception of these annual festivals, been one of the city's concert venues. The church typically hosted the performances of oratorios, while the Assembly Rooms played host to evening musical performances, thereby ensuring a clear separation between performances of sacred and secular repertoire. The Newcastle festivals, like the

⁴⁷ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, pp. 128-9.

⁴⁸ Eneas Mackenzie, 'St Nicholas' church: History and architecture', in *Historical Account of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 235-255.

⁴⁹ Maggie Humphreys and Robert Evans, ., p. 180.

⁵⁰ 'Review of *Cantica Ecclesiastica: A Complete Volume of Congregational Music* by Thomas Ions', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 4:80 (1851), 119.

⁵¹ See Catherine Dale, 'The Provincial Musical Festival in Nineteenth-century England: A Case Study of Bridlington', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. by in Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 325-348.

many which proliferated in nineteenth-century Britain, were often motivated as a means to promote trade, to attract visitors, and to raise morale.⁵² Furthermore, these events were often also in aid of charitable causes, with all or a share of the profits donated to charity.⁵³

Civic musical improvement did not only take place through the annual music festivals. There was also a proliferation of amateur groups among the workers in the city's many collieries. Eneas Mackenzie, the Newcastle printer whose 1827 survey of Newcastle included a section on 'Musical Institutions' noted in this that music-making was encouraged among the city workers 'on account of its moral influences.'⁵⁴ Music was not only associated with philanthropy, but was a means to encourage temperance, too. Musical societies, such as the Newcastle and Gateshead Temperance Choral Society were established and gave concerts to promote music as an antidote to alcoholism and a path to sobriety.⁵⁵ It is evident, therefore, that Henry came from a city in which musical culture was aligned with improvement, and where music – of certain types, at least – was encouraged on account of its perceived moral benefits.

The path to becoming a missionary

Sometime in the mid-1840s, Waters appears to have come into contact with Robert Gray.⁵⁶ Gray was vicar of Stockton-on-Tees when he accepted the newly-created bishopric of Capetown. The diocese of Capetown was founded in 1845 out of an endowment given by Angela Burdett-Coutts to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. With the Burdett-Coutts' money three new dioceses were created between 1845 and 1858 (the other two were South Australia and British Columbia). These became visible signs of the Anglican Church (or Church of England) expanding outside Britain.⁵⁷ Gray began his recruitment drive for clergy while he

⁵² See Pippa Drummond, *The provincial music festival in England, 1784-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1-5.

⁵³ Eneas Mackenzie, *Historical Account*, p. 591: notes that 1/5 of the receipts from the 1824 Newcastle Festival went to charitable institutions not only in Newcastle but also Durham and the rest of Northumberland. See also: Dotted Crotchet 'A Newcastle Music-Making', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 43:707 (1902), 24-7 which chronicles the Newcastle music festivals which began in 1824. These often featured performances of *Messiah* and were billed as charity events (24).

⁵⁴ E. Mackenzie, *Historical Account*, p. 591.

⁵⁵ See 'Brief Chronicle of the Last Month', *Musical Times* 3:68 (1850), 262.

⁵⁶ For a biography of Gray see Audrey Brooke, *Robert Gray, first Bishop of Cape Town* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1947). There is also H.L. Sidney Lear, *Life of Robert Gray: Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of Africa*, 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1876).

⁵⁷ On the Colonial Bishoprics Fund and worldwide Anglican expansion in the nineteenth century See Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 198-222.

was still at Stockton on Tees, and one of his recruits was Waters.⁵⁸ Waters was attached to Stockton Church, probably working as a catechist, but no musical contribution or involvement from him is known. There is evidence that the church at Stockton had some tradition of liturgical music for there had been an organ in the church since 1759, built by the London firm Thomas Griffin.⁵⁹

At what stage Waters made the decision to become a missionary is not known, but the years 1847-8 were eventful for him. On 14 October 1847, a little short of a year before leaving for South Africa, Waters married Isabella Forster Smith, daughter of George Forster Smith, an Hosier, in St Andrew's Parish Church.⁶⁰ That they were married in St Andrew's, a parish church by the curate of the parish (Thomas Smyth). This fulfilled one of the requirements of a legal marriage, the other being that the banns were read on three Sundays.⁶¹ There is no direct evidence to suggest that the couple regularly attended St Andrew's, but they must have been regular church goers, especially if Waters had already been a catechist and was intending on becoming a missionary. In nineteenth-century Britain, however, marriage was an important communal activity, and one that was intended to establish the couple as part of their parish community, an indication that they were regular churchgoers.⁶²

Details of any music at the marriage service itself are non-existent. Marriage according to the rite in the Book of Common Prayer (the form the service in a parish church would have taken) allowed for the singing of the psalms which formed part of the service. But there is little indication of contemporary trends in music for marriage services. The earliest record of an organ in the church is from 1783, while the instrument in the church at the time of the Waters' wedding had been there since 1834, placed at the West end of the

⁵⁸ Gray claimed to have as many as 12 applications from clergymen. In his letters he mentions recruitment only in that there was interest from clergy wishing to work at the Cape, but he does not talk about selection of clergy, nor the criteria on which this selection was based. See S.L. Sidney Lear, *Life of Robert Gray*, I, p. 139.

⁵⁹ Roz Southey, *Music-making in north-east England during the eighteenth century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), p. 107.

⁶⁰ This was unlikely to have been a large occasion given the couple's social status. Middle class couples generally preferred to marry as quickly and quietly and possible. See: John Gillis, 'Making Time for Family: the invention of family time(s) and the reinvention of family history', *The Journal of Family History*, 21:1 (1996), 4-21 (p.9).

⁶¹ Joan Perkin, *Women and marriage in nineteenth-century England* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 21.

⁶² John Gillis, *For better, for worse: British marriages, 1600 to the present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 140.

church.⁶³ There are identifiable trends in the selection of music for weddings in the nineteenth century, and practices varied from region to region. There are indications, however, that organ music was sometimes played at weddings.⁶⁴ John Cordy Jeaffreson's 1872 compendium of wedding customs made passing reference to music at church weddings suggesting that in some cases choirs and organs were used.⁶⁵ The appearance of albums of organ music for weddings in the second half of the nineteenth century would suggest that the organ was growing in popularity for providing music at marriage services.⁶⁶

The marriage certificate listed both Waters and his father as merchants, an indication that there had been some professional and social change in their lives. His marriage to Isabella had partly helped: on his application form for missionary work, he stated that his property and income came from his wife.⁶⁷ For someone of Waters' social and educational background, missionary service perhaps represented a further advance and a means to realise his ambitions of a clerical career. For many non-graduates seeking a career in the clergy, such as Waters, overseas missionary service was a way to secure a clerical posting.⁶⁸

Preparation for South Africa

On 26 August 1848 Henry and Isabella sailed for South Africa aboard *Gwalior*, a passage that lasted 27 days. The only connection the Waterses had with South Africa was through Robert Gray, bishop of Cape Town, who had been vicar of Stockton-on-Tees. Waters' obituary of 1884 attributes this to the recruitment of Waters and others from the north east of England. It would appear that Waters had considered a missionary career for some time: when he was a catechist at Stockton, he undertook some theological training, and this continued on the boat journey to the Cape. Certainly, earnest study took place during the four weeks at sea, for it was noted in one of Henry's obituaries that he and the other recruits

⁶³ St Andrew's Parish Church, Newcastle: Churchwardens' Notebook.

⁶⁴ See Jessica M. Kerr, 'English Wedding Music', *Musical Times*, 106:1463 (1965), 53-55.

⁶⁵ John Cordy Jeaffreson, *Brides and bridals* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1872), p. 261.

⁶⁶ See 'Review', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 40:675 (1899), 317.

⁶⁷ Isabella was the niece of Richard Grainger, a builder whose fame was achieved through his work on the 1830s remodelling of Newcastle's city centre. Several authors have asserted that a strong motivating factor for marriage was to enable financial improvement. See, for example, Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and love in England: modes of reproduction, 1300-1840* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 291. As John Gillis has also observed, many artisans, tradespeople and professional in mid-nineteenth century Britain saw marriage as a means to establish economic independence, especially if a wife brought a significant dowry to the marriage. Gillis, *For better, for worse*, pp. 164 & 174.

⁶⁸ Sarah Slinn, *The education of the Anglican clergy, 1780-1839* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), p. 2.

‘devoted themselves to the study of Divinity on their way out.’⁶⁹ An indication of what was studied is found in the S.P.G. ‘Register of Missionaries’ entry which noted:

The Society presented Mr Waters with the following books: Macbride’s *Diatessaron*, Thornton on *Pentateuch*, Bailey *Occasional Services*, Theophilus *Anglicanus*, Welshman on the articles.⁷⁰

This list suggests that Waters had a lot to learn in a short amount of time, as taken together the contents of these books gave readers a broad sweep of theological, doctrinal, and liturgical matters. It also shows that the intellectual preparation was entirely up to him. S.P.G. missionaries of his generation did not, overall, receive any training or education, unless they had been to university: their selection relied on the discretion of the recruiting bishop, or his representative, and so the necessary qualifications varied from not only from place-to-place, but also missionary societies.⁷¹

Even though there is nothing to prove that Waters read these books, they can also provide some sense of what the wider intellectual circles in which Waters moved so examining them will give us an idea of the frameworks which were meant to inform his work. The reading list suggests that missionaries were required to understand certain beliefs and doctrines, in order to help them carry out their work. Understanding this side of him will help us to understand more about the intellectual frameworks of the society in which Henry and his fellow missionaries worked.

The five books given to Waters effectively provided a crash courses in theology. Macbride’s *Diatessaron* was an abridged series of lectures delivered to Theology students at Magdalene [sic.] Hall, Oxford ‘who are beginning to study Divinity; and have neither leisure nor opportunity to peruse many explanatory works.’⁷² ‘Thornton on *Pentateuch*’ provided a commentary on the first five books of the Old Testament, while ‘*Theophilus Anglicanus*’ and ‘Welshman on the articles’ outlined Anglican doctrine and theology. *Occasional Services* was written by Henry Bailey, warden of St Augustine’s Missionary College in Canterbury,

⁶⁹ ‘The Late Archdeacon Waters, of St. Mark’s, Transkei. A Summary of the work of his life, from Sermon by Archdeacon Kitton. (With an Illustration.)’ in *The Mission Field* (March 1884, Vol. XXIX, No. 339), pp. 78-84.

⁷⁰ USPG, X124, f. 40: ‘Missionary Roll 1846-55’.

⁷¹ For more on these complexities and conflicts in an earlier period see Hans Cnattingius, *Bishops and societies: a study of Anglican colonial and missionary expansion, 1698-1850* (London: S.P.C.K., 1952).

⁷² John Macbride, *Lectures explanatory of the Diatessaron, [etc.]* (Oxford, 1824), p. iii.

and it provided liturgical material. St Augustine's will be discussed in more detail in the next section, but it is important to note that it was a 'high church' establishment and, *de facto*, the training institution for the S.P.G. Like the diocese of Capetown, St Augustine's was closely associated with the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. It provided a rival model of mission to that of its Evangelical counterpart, the Church Missionary Society. As we shall see later on, the 'high church' mission organisations emphasised the importance of liturgical discipline, of which music formed an important part, whereas in the Evangelical societies preaching was the central focus.⁷³

It appears that these books emphasised three important points relating to their beliefs and values, which (as we shall see in the following chapters) resonated with, and reinforced musical practice and how it found expression on Anglican-Xhosa missions. These points can be summarised as follows. The first point was universality, or the principal that through knowledge of the Sacraments Christianity was open to all because the church was believed to transcend time, place, faith and practice. As Christopher Wordsworth wrote it is 'not limited, like the Jewish Church, to one People, but as comprehending those of all Nations.'⁷⁴ Wordsworth explained further that membership of the church is open to all but requires profession by its members of 'true religion' which is 'Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁷⁵ The second point was an encouragement of the belief in the importance of missionary work. Bailey pointed out that, 'Everlasting honour has been put upon the work of Missions, by His [Christ] having, voluntarily, become a Missionary to this lower world, "to seek and to save that which was lost.'⁷⁶ The essence of missionary work, therefore, meant becoming part of an ancient line of British missionaries, beginning with Pope Gregory's mission to the British Isles in 597 CE. Wordsworth, in particular, stressed that the missionaries of the Church of England were the inheritors of mission work: as the British had been missionised and through this process became a Christian nation, it was the duty of nineteenth century British missionaries to spread this heritage throughout the world.⁷⁷ This narrative of antiquity

⁷³ I am grateful to Professor Hilary Carey for pointing out these nuances in the styles and purpose of training and education in the 'high church' and Evangelical missionary camps.

⁷⁴ Christopher Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus: or, instruction concerning The Church, and the Anglican branch of it. For the use of schools, colleges, and candidates for Holy Orders* (London: Rivingtons, 1857), p. 5.

⁷⁵ Wordsworth, *Theophilus*, p. 25.

⁷⁶ Henry Bailey, *The missionary's daily text book: with reflections, biographical notices, prayers, or devotional poetry, for every day in the year* (Canterbury: St Augustine's College Press, 1853).

⁷⁷ Wordsworth, *Theophilus*, p. 69.

encouraged missionaries to have confidence in what they did as it emphasised the sheer longevity of their religious beliefs.

The final important point was liturgical. Wordsworth and Bailey, in particular stressed the importance of the rites and ceremonies of the church. As Wordsworth commented on the rites and ceremonies:

Let all things be done decently and in order; and, Let all things be done to edifying, and for the promotion of the glory of God. Hence they must take care that the Rites which they ordain be reasonable and decorous, and, as much as may be, in conformity with the ancient practice of the Universal Church.⁷⁸

Bailey stressed that for missionaries it was important to observe the liturgies of the church. He provided three directives for the observance of the liturgy of the church: '1. Conscientiously observe the rules of liturgy; 2. Publicly read morning and evening prayer; 3. Perform Divine Service with seriousness and decency.'⁷⁹ In addition to the discipline of daily observances, which Wordsworth encouraged, he promoted catechizing as the best means to expose and inculcate the Word of God when not easily understood through teaching and regular recitation of the Apostle's Creed, The Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and a witness based on the sacraments for they provide the 'means to grow in grace.'⁸⁰ Missionaries were therefore encouraged to engage regularly with their local congregations and the surrounding populations.

The absence of conclusive evidence to suggest that Henry Waters received any musical training or displayed any noteworthy musical ability, leaves us to conclude that Gray, who personally selected him, was not necessarily interested in expertly musical missionaries. We can conjecture: presumably Henry sang hymns and psalms in the churches he attended; he would have known about the Newcastle music festivals and their broad aims and ethos; with his companions on *Gwalior* he might not only have studied, but also prayed and sang hymns and psalms. What Waters' case study does show us is that music was not the determining factor in missionary selection. What was more important was that the missionary displayed, through his church involvement and education, a sympathy with the frameworks of the institution for which he would end up working as this is what was seen by the authorities

⁷⁸ Wordsworth, *Theophilus*, p. 351.

⁷⁹ Bailey, *Daily Text Book*, '3rd December'.

⁸⁰ Wordsworth, *Theophilus*, p. 61.

as necessary for doing an effective job as a missionary. Music was a means of expressing and imagining these theological and cultural frameworks. In turn, these were to become one way of providing missionaries such as Henry Waters with confidence in the culture and religion which they took with them into the world beyond Britain.⁸¹ The extent to which music played a role in this has confidence is not, from the case studies examined this far, definitive, despite Gray's stipulation that men of the right stamp had to possess musical knowledge. What has been established, however, is that missionaries were often not musically trained at all, in a formal sense, but were directed towards intellectual frameworks which would support their musical practice.

Missionary training and St Augustine's: Bransby Key (1838–1901)

The early missionaries examined so far were untrained in the sense that they did not go through any kind of formal course of preparation. Training institutions for missionaries existed, but these were for societies of other denominations. There was Farquhar House in Highgate for non-conformist missionaries of the London Missionary Society; or, for the 'low' wing of the Church of England, there was the Church Missionary Society's college in Islington, established in 1820. Training for missionaries associated with the S.P.G. or the 'higher' wings of the church only began towards the end of the 1850s, and it is worth comparing their musical training with that of the earlier generations. In what follows, the case of Bransby Key, who entered mission service in 1863, provides a comparison with the first generation of missionaries like Greenstock and Waters.

Early life

Bransby Lewis Key was born in 1838 into a prosperous middle-class family.⁸² His mother was the daughter of a clergyman, and his father an eminent surgeon.⁸³ Apparently, the family governess, who taught Key and his siblings, was a Wesleyan and liberal in her use of

⁸¹ On British Victorian cultural forms and confidence in them, see Hilary M. Carey, "'The Secret of England's Greatness': Medievalism, Ornithology, and Anglican Imperialism in the Aboriginal Gospel Book of Sir George Grey', *The Journal of Victorian Culture*, 16:3, 323-46 (p. 345).

⁸² The exact date is not clear, but his baptism date was recorded as 17 March 1838. London Metropolitan Archives, St Helen Bishopgate, Register of Baptism, P69/HEL/A/01Ms 6833

⁸³ Father: Charles Aston Key (1793-1849), eminent surgeon; known for anaesthetics, hernia and kidney stone removals. Surgeon at St Thomas' and Guy's. In 1847 appointed surgeon to Prince Albert. Died of cholera at his home in St Helen's Place, 1849. Mother: Anne Cooper, a daughter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Levick Cooper, of Great Yarmouth.

John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and the hymns of Isaac Watts.⁸⁴ While hymnody in the late 1830s and early 1840s was hardly as ubiquitous in the Church of England as it was in the non-conformist denominations, the hymn nonetheless was a staple form of music making in middle class households.⁸⁵ What this suggests is that from early on in Key's life there is evidence of the educational use of hymnody and other religious texts which brought him into a world of music linked to religious imagery and language.

His exposure to religious texts continued at the first school he attended, 'Mr Mills', Hampton', where the whole school was required to read aloud the Psalms for the day.⁸⁶ In 1850, Key, aged twelve, entered Kensington Grammar School which he attended until 1856. This school acted as a feeder for Haileybury and Addiscombe, the two training schools of the East India Company. From the annual reports for Key's time at the school, there does not appear to have been much musical activity.⁸⁷ The curriculum was diverse, but driven towards equipping the pupils with skills in subjects and activities such as Military Drawing, Fortification, Drill and Fencing. The two most popular extra-curricular activities appear to have been Drawing and Dancing. A prominent feature of the academic curriculum was provision for languages. Amongst these was Hindustani, probably encouraged by R. Payne Smith, one of the school's headmasters during Key's time.⁸⁸ Payne Smith was a clergymen (like all the headmasters of Kensington Grammar), theologian and orientalist, who specialised in Syriac languages.⁸⁹ The greater part of the curriculum was, however, devoted

⁸⁴ Godfrey Callaway, *A shepherd of the veld: Bransby Lewis Key, Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria* (London: Wells Gardner, 1912), p. 5. Callaway's biography is the main source of information for the life of Key.

⁸⁵ J.R. Watson, "'Ancient and Modern": The Victorian Hymn and the Nineteenth Century', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 36:2 (2006), 1-16 (p. 1).

⁸⁶ Callaway, *Shepherd of the Veld*, p. 11.

⁸⁷ Information on Kensington Grammar is taken from: (1) 'Kensington Square and environs: Individual houses (west side and Derry Street)', in *Survey of London: Volume 42, Kensington Square To Earl's Court*, ed. by Hermione Hobhouse (London: London County Council, 1986), pp. 29-40 (2) *The Report of the Directors of the Kensington Proprietary Grammar School for the Year 1851* (London: A. Varnham, 1852).

⁸⁸ This curriculum of subjects was similar to that on offer at Haileybury. See B.B. Mira, *The central administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), pp.398-401; and Brian Gardner, *The East India Company* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1971), pp. 188-92.

⁸⁹ See R. Simpson, 'Smith, Robert Payne (1818-1895), orientalist and theologian', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21660>> [accessed 15 September 2019]. The rules of the school required that the 'Head and Second Masters shall be clergymen of the Church of England. See *Rules*

to the study of Latin and Greek, as well as mathematics, history and arithmetic. Religious instruction was the central component of the curriculum and the school's rules laid down that every day the Headmaster read and explained a portion of Scripture to the pupils, and that they received instruction in the practices of the Church of England.⁹⁰ Like William Greenstock in the National Society school at Pitcombe, Key went to a school where knowledge of the Church of England and its liturgies was encouraged and explicitly taught, but there was also a strong international element evident in Key's school education.

Music was offered as a subject at the school. In 1852, of the 120 pupils enrolled, 16 were listed as taking music, although Key was not one of them. Interest in music at the school was increasing, but it remained on the periphery of the school's curriculum. The 1852 Directors' report noted:

In Music, the number of Pupils is also [...] increased, and it requires much patience on the part of Mr. Hunter, as well as that of the Masters of the various Classes, to arrange lesson in such order as to cause as little interruption as may be to the general Classes of the school.⁹¹

Key's academic strength, rather, appeared to have been in the compulsory, core subjects of the curriculum – Divinity, English, French, Hebrew and Writing – and he earnestly applied himself to the study of these subjects.⁹² His enrolment at Kensington might suggest a family intention that the boys were being trained for careers overseas, perhaps in the employ of the East India Company, a viable job prospect at a time of great expansion in the British Empire. From his time at Kensington, therefore, he would have been aware of the opportunities available to work overseas. This knowledge, along with a developing religious sense was to contribute to his decision to become a missionary.

of Kensington Proprietary Grammar School, Instituted 1831 (London: A Varnham, 1854), p. 14.

⁹⁰ See Rule XXXIX in *Rules of Kensington Proprietary Grammar School*, p. 17.

⁹¹ *Report of the Directors of the Kensington Proprietary Grammar School, for the year 1851* (London: A Varnham, 1852), pp. 9-10.

⁹² Key was described by his brother as a 'first-class scholar' who nonetheless missed out on the 'School Exhibition' for a university place: Callaway, *Shepherd of the Veld*, p. 7. In his final three years at Kensington Grammar, Key remained in the top three of the top set for the five core subjects winning prizes for essays on the Crusades and theological topics. See 1851, 1854, 1855 and 1856 editions of *The Report of the Directors of the Kensington Proprietary Grammar School for the Year*.

Preparation for missionary work

Precisely what prompted Key to become a missionary is not clear. After schooling, he underwent training in Newcastle to become a civil engineer. Mainly through the influence of his cousin, Edmund Wood, during this time Key joined the circle of North East Tractarians. Wood was a deacon and curate at Houghton-le-Spring, and actively involved in the parish church's mission to the poor communities of mineworkers which were then found in the parish.⁹³ The clergy's concern with the welfare of the poor mining communities in the area, and their work among them, might well have been influential on Bransby in his decision to take up missionary work.

While working as a civil engineer, Key appears to have become fixed on becoming a missionary and he had set in place preparations to enter training at St Augustine's and began articulating his motivations for missionary work.⁹⁴ These appear to have been purely spiritual as shown by a letter written in 1861 (probably to the Warden of St Augustine's). Bransby wrote:

I think I can conscientiously say that what actuates me in this wish, is, a desire to serve God and to promote his glory to the best of my power; at the same time believing that in this way he would have me do it.⁹⁵

According to these letters Key had been reading the *Missionary Candidate's Manual*, a devotional pamphlet produced by Henry Bailey, the warden of St Augustine's. Bailey aimed this pamphlet at prospective missionary candidates to assist them with examining and weighing their motives for wishing to become missionaries. This book was structured around a series of suggested topics for contemplation while weighing the decision: 'Preparation of the Body', 'Preparation of the Mind' and 'Preparation of the Spirit'.

In the section entitled 'Preparation of the Body', Bailey encouraged candidates to concentrate on their outward appearance and senses, and encouraged observing temperance, soberness and chastity.⁹⁶ Certain physical activities such as 'manly sports' were prescribed, but of equal importance to physical strength was sensual awareness, for, as Bailey observed,

⁹³ J. P. Francis, 'Wood, Edmund', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wood_edmund_13E.html> [accessed 10 September 2019].

⁹⁴ Callaway, *Shepherd of the Veld*, p. 8

⁹⁵ CCA-U88A/2/6/C/540 ('File of Letters (1874-1901) Bransby Louis/Lewis Key'): Letter, 'Key to unknown' 15th October [n.y, probably 1861].

⁹⁶ Bailey, *Missionary candidate's manual*, p. 5.

the senses were ‘ministers of good to yourself, and of use to others.’ So, for example, the eyes had to be trained for perspective through drawing, and the ears were to be trained to the ‘rules of music and harmony.’ Music was the means through candidates were encouraged to acquire ‘bodily discipline’.

Music, then, was part of the spiritual and physical preparation of missionary candidates. As such, it formed a means with which the senses could be tempered and put to good use. ‘Music and harmony’ were associated with the preparation of the bodily senses for mission work and so identified as a means by which missionary candidates could strive towards the bodily and sensory bodily discipline spoken about in the reflection by Bailey. The correct kinds of music and harmony were associated with moral virtue. What these types of music were and what their associations served to achieve, require looking at the life that candidates would have led at St Augustine’s.

St Augustine’s Missionary College, Canterbury

Key’s preparation for mission work began in earnest in 1861 when he entered St Augustine’s Missionary Training College in Canterbury. This set him on a clearly defined path towards a missionary career overseas: St Augustine’s was a missionary college set up specifically to train missionaries for overseas colonial work. Upon gaining admission, the seriousness of the undertaking was impressed upon students, as they were required to sign a written declaration, which emphasised that they were being prepared for international work. Each student upon entering the college committed ‘with all the power of mind and body’ to a course of training the end of which was ‘the service of God in the Church of England and in the distant dependencies of the British Empire.’⁹⁷

The training provided at St Augustine’s was designed to produce graduates who were sufficiently equipped to take British Christianity and British culture into the empire.⁹⁸ As the Charter of Incorporation stated, the College existed to:

Provide an education to qualify young men for the service of the Church in the distant dependencies of the British Empire, with such strict regard to economy and frugality

⁹⁷ *St Augustine’s College Calendar, 1858* (Canterbury: St Augustine’s Press, 1858), p. 32-3.

⁹⁸ A thorough and detailed account of St Augustine’s is provided in Hilary M. Carey, *God’s Empire: religion and colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 271-86.

of habits, as may fit them for the special duties to be discharged, the difficulties to be encountered, and the hardships to be endured.⁹⁹

Admission was granted upon successfully passing a written exam on Cicero's *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, the first Book of Euclid, one of the Gospels in Greek and other portions of the Scriptures, Arithmetic, and Church Catechism.¹⁰⁰ Once students were admitted they embarked on a course which aimed to (as the *Calendar 1858* noted): 'with all the appliances of European skill; and inasmuch as our superiority in the arts and sciences afford a very powerful means for assisting that object, we should throw away an advantage in not employing them.'¹⁰¹ This involved a three-year programme over the course of which they studied the subjects shown in Table 1.2. This course differed very little from the missionary colleges of other denominations of the time, all of which offered a similar, classically-based curriculum as sufficient preparation for the mission field.¹⁰² This academic course was intermingled with a weekly task of composing a sermon or homily on a Collect, Epistle and Gospel. There was also essay writing and Sunday School teaching. The course was not entirely academic: students also undertook manual labour, and were taught mechanical arts, such as printing and bricklaying. In the final year of study students also attended a series of lectures on medicine which dealt with the basics of anatomy and treatments for a variety of ailments.

There was a certain degree of preparation offered for those intending to work in specific mission fields, but this was limited and by no means as extensive as the core curriculum of classical subjects. A few books were prescribed for students who planned to work in India and Borneo. For those heading to the Cape, it was recommended that they read *The Kafir, the Hottentot, and the Frontier Farmer* (1854) by Nathaniel Merriman, the Archdeacon of Kaffraria.¹⁰³ Also included in the scant list of suggestions was an article in the S.P.G.'s periodical *Missions to Heathen* (this will be discussed in the next chapter), as well as the suggestion that some Dutch may be useful. St Augustine's, then, aimed to produce missionary candidates who were confident in the intellectual traditions and thought systems

⁹⁹ *Calendar, 1858*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ *Calendar, 1858*, p. 35.

¹⁰¹ *Calendar, 1858*, p. 98.

¹⁰² See S.C. Potter, 'The social origins and recruitment'. For a thorough outline and comparison of the training of missionaries within the Anglican church, and in the main denominations, see Piggins, *Making evangelical missionaries*, esp. pp. 156-88 for non-conformists) and pp. 189-218 for Anglicans and Wesleyans).

¹⁰³ *Calendar, 1858*, p. 95.

of Britain and Europe. There was, therefore, hardly any concern at all for knowledge of local customs and cultures, for confidence in one's own culture and religion was seen as the formula for missionary success.

Table 1.2 The curriculum at St Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury		
YEAR 1	YEAR 2	YEAR 3
<i>Scripture History</i> <i>Gospels in Greek</i> <i>Evidences of Christian Religion</i> <i>Pearson on the Creed</i> <i>Latin</i> <i>Greek</i> <i>Elementary</i> <i>Mathematics</i>	<i>Jewell's Apology</i> <i>Wordsworth Theophilus Anglicanus</i> <i>Humboldt's Cosmos</i> <i>XXXIX Articles of the Church of England</i> <i>Epistles in Greek</i> <i>Elementary Hebrew</i> <i>Greek Christian Classical Subject</i> <i>Sciences and Mathematics</i> <i>Physical Geography</i>	<i>Book of Common Prayer</i> <i>XXXIX Articles of the Church of England</i> <i>Butler's Analogy</i> <i>Church & Missionary History</i> <i>Hebrew, Latin and Greek Christian</i> <i>Classical studies</i> <i>Humboldt's Cosmos</i> <i>Medical Course at the county hospital</i> <i>Whewell's Bridgewater Treatise</i>
Source: <i>The Calendar of the Missionary College of St Augustine', Canterbury For the Year of Our Lord, 1858</i> , p. 49.		

Although not listed or treated as an academic subject, there was some provision for musical training. The College had a Singing Master, Dr. W.H. Longhurst (1819-1904), and Organist, John A. Thomson, and a Precentor, John B. Good.¹⁰⁴ An account given by Longhurst in 1880 of music tuition at St Augustine's provides some idea of the musical instruction Key might have received.¹⁰⁵ Only vocal music was taught, and according to Hullah's 'fixed *do* [*sic.*]' system.¹⁰⁶ The course, devised by Longhurst himself, consisted of 'rudimental music' on Tuesday mornings, and 'elementary music' on Wednesday evenings, with a Saturday practice of the music to be performed in Chapel.

The style of the music at St Augustine's was a mixture of plainchant and hymns. The College had its own hymnbook,– *Selection of Psalms, Anthems, and Missionary Hymns, sung in St. Augustine's College Chapel* (1858). This drew on Longhurst's own publication *The Canterbury Psalmist: a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes &c ed. and arranged by W.H.*

¹⁰⁴ *Calendar, 1858*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁵ See W.H. Longhurst, 'Music in Theological Schools', in *Studies in Worship-Music chiefly as regards congregational singing*, ed. by John Curwen (London: Curwen and Sons, c. 1880), p. 101.

¹⁰⁶ One of the systems of sol-fa popular at the time in Britain. William Greenstock, it will be recalled, was also taught Hullah's system at St Mark's, Chelsea. Sol-fa will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Longhurst (1857) and *The Parish Choir*, a musical magazine of the Tractarian, or Anglo-Catholic, movement.¹⁰⁷ The singing at St Augustine's made an impression on Key's brother who remarked after a visit in 1864, 'I was much impressed by the singing practice under a singing master, and I shall never forget the deep impression made on me by the students singing in their musical parts the anthem, "In Judah is GOD known."' ¹⁰⁸

Musical instruction was thus closely linked with the formation of liturgical habits so that missionaries could lead music on their stations. I would suggest that involving the students in music was aimed at giving them confidence, rather than imparting specialist musical knowledge. It was, simply put, one of the practices in which they were expected to be proficient, regardless of ability, just as they needed to know how to dress a wound or print and bind a book. The training of which music was a component compromised of developing a "package" of attributes that gave trainee missionaries at St Augustine's confidence in the religion and culture that they were to take with them to other parts of the world.

As the daily liturgies themselves formed an important part of the students' routine, music was closely associated with these important observances. They were required to attend morning and evening prayers and to take communion once a month, at least.¹⁰⁹ Coleridge at St Mark's, Chelsea, wrote of the importance of the daily liturgy and its splendid music for cultivating 'an ever-brightening remembrance', which was intended to inspire schoolmasters when they went out into the National Schools. Henry Bailey, warden of St Augustine's (1850-75) similarly wrote that the importance of the daily services was in the way it brought students to 'realise the preciousness of those daily services, with all the sublime associations of those daily services, with all the sublime associations of the holy places, only when we have to "sing the Lord's song in a strange land."' ¹¹⁰

The daily services were always sung, usually to plainsong, but also to Anglican chant.¹¹¹ While the use of the two styles marked the differences between the ferial and the festal seasons, R.J.E. Boggis, the college's historian, noted that this had the additional benefit

¹⁰⁷ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁸ From Callaway, *Shepherd of the Veld*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ *Calendar*, 1858, p. 30.

¹¹⁰ Henry Bailey, *Twenty five years of St Augustine's College: a letter to late students* (Canterbury, S. Hyde, 1873), p. 135. 'Sing the Lord's song in a strange land' alludes to the lines from Psalm 137, verse 4: 'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'

¹¹¹ R.J.E. Boggis, *A history of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury* (Canterbury: Cross and Jackman, 1907).

of ‘accustoming the future cleric to both systems of singing.’¹¹² The College, therefore, clearly wished to produce graduates who were able confidently to perform the full range of choral music required for services.

In addition, the college’s corporate identity was expressed through music, which helped to identity and perpetuate the college’s narrative of antiquity. At college services Gregorian chant tones were the preferred style of music because it was believed that they expressed sonically the College’s links with the early days of Christianity in Britain. *The Day Hours of the Church, with Gregorian Tones*, edited by Rev. Albany Christie, was the chantbook with which Key would have come into contact while at college in the 1860s was used for the daily offices and psalmody.¹¹³ The book had a strong Tractarian association as it was one of the plainchant sources used by Tractarian churches.¹¹⁴

The predilection for emphasising antiquity in liturgical practice is reflected in the foreword to this chantbook.¹¹⁵ Albany Christie declared that Gregorian chant heightened the meaning of the text precisely because of its roots in antiquity, and he referred to the writings of the church fathers – Ambrose, Gregory and Athanasius – as his precedent. He asserted further that the roots of the thought of the Church Fathers themselves, particularly their musical thought, lay in the intellectual tradition of Ancient Greece. In the seventh century it was Saints Ambrose and Gregory who selected four Ancient Greek Modes as the most appropriate for sacred, i.e. Christian, purposes. Thus music at the college, I would suggest, gave sonic credence to the construction of the important medieval and Gothic narrative that legitimated the missionary project of the Victorian Anglicans as a continuation of what was thought to be an ancient tradition.

The confidence with which the editor wrote, and the antiquity that imbued the chants in this psalter, are redolent of the theological confidence that missionaries were required to develop. Key, from early on then, was exposed to the religious importance of music, from the singing of his governess, to the daily recitation of psalms, and finally, the chanting of ancient tones. There is no evidence that he was a musical specialist. During his missionary training, however, he was part of a culture in which music was employed as a means of spiritual and

¹¹² Boggis, *History*, pp. 105-6.

¹¹³ Boggis, *History*, p. 108.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of plainchant sources used in the nineteenth century, see Bennett Zon, *The English plainchant revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 267-8.

¹¹⁵ See Albany Christie, *The day hours of the Church, with the Gregorian Tones (Part I)* (London: James Toovey, 1844), pp. ix-xi.

physical discipline, and through involvement in the daily liturgy the historical importance of Christian expression and liturgical activity was emphasised to him. Having examined three case studies of individuals in detail, I now place them in the wider cohort of the Cape's early missionaries in order to be able to make some general comments about missionary musicality.

The wider missionary cohort

Between 1855 and 1878, approximately 43 missionaries left Britain to serve on the Anglican-Xhosa missions. These are listed in S.P.G. records and shown in Appendix A (p. 262). The brief information on each which is given in the table is inconsistent and patchy, and so a further 43 case studies could be researched and written about their musical experience before sailing for the Cape. Thus, we would have 43 different stories outlining the social circumstances in which an individual's musical outlook was forged. Such an investigation, along the lines of the three case studies which formed the central focus of this chapter, would, however, no doubt show a similar variety of experience.

Indeed, what closer inspection of this table reveals is that within this group there was a cross-section of educational levels and society. Only a few of the early missionaries had university degrees.¹¹⁶ The first three bishops who had oversight of the Anglican-Xhosa mission project – Armstrong, Cotterill and Merriman – were all educated at Oxford or Cambridge universities. But not all those educated to degree level came from these universities. John Allen was at Trinity College Dublin, while Peter Syree attended Bonn University, and Richard McCormick attended what was described as the 'Cape University', probably the South African College, a forerunner of the University of Cape Town.¹¹⁷

The degree of training these men received before being sent to the mission field also varied. Between 1856 and 1862, there were a few like Key, who trained at St Augustine's

¹¹⁶ In many missionary societies for the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, university graduates generally did not undergo any further training for it was felt their graduate status was sufficient qualification. See Alison Hodge, 'The Training of Missionaries for Africa: The Church Missionary Society's Training College at Islington, 1900-1915', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 4:2 (1971-2), 81-96 (p. 84).

¹¹⁷ For the importance of Church of Ireland clergy (including those educated at Trinity College Dublin) in other colonial mission fields, see Michael Gladwin, *Anglican clergy in Australia, 1788-1850: building a British world* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2015), pp. 47-51.

Canterbury. One of these, Robert Mullins, served as a catechist for six years and then returned to be trained before his ordination. Mullins had his harmonium shipped out to the Cape and had had a more musical experience from his school days, for he had been a chorister at New College, Oxford.¹¹⁸ Henry Kitton trained at St Bees Theological College in Cumberland, which produced at least five colonial bishops.¹¹⁹ It would seem that most learnt about mission work on the job, in the same way that Greenstock and Waters did.

Not all missionaries, however, came from or were raised in Britain or from a Church of England background. Albert Maggs was a former Wesleyan preacher, and on account of this experience no doubt brought with him a knowledge of hymns and hymns singing. S.N. de Kock and Richard Lange were of Dutch-South African descent and had worked for societies of other denominations before joining the Anglican-Xhosa missions. With them came knowledge and experience of other missionary societies and their musical traditions. Stephen Adonis Bangela and Jonas Ntsiko were Xhosa converts sent to study at St Augustine's, Canterbury. In Canterbury, their musical experience would have been much the same as Bransby Key's, but what they brought back to the mission field would have been complicated as it was filtered through the frameworks of their own indigenous musical culture.¹²⁰

Much like the three case studies, the social backgrounds of this wider group varied, and there are no obvious signs of a high level of musical expertise among most of the recruits. This brief comparison of the cohort with the three detailed case studies shows us that the diversity of social and educational experience was a feature of the early group of missionaries.¹²¹ Whatever music they experienced and knew from their different backgrounds

¹¹⁸ USPG, X1018: 'The Diary of Robert John Mullins, 1854-1961 SPG Missionary in Grahamstown 1854-1913, edited by W.M. Levick'. Unfortunately, no sources are available to tell us more about the music he encountered during his time at New College (Correspondence with the Archivist, New College: 19 February 2015).

¹¹⁹ See Trevor Park, *St Bees College, 1816-1895: a short history* (Dalton-in-Furness: St Bega Publications, 1982).

¹²⁰ For a general discussion of African experience at St Augustine's Missionary College, see Janet K. Hodgson, 'A History of Zonnebloem College, 1858-1870: a study of church and society' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1975), pp. 307-10 & 523-6.

¹²¹ For a comparison on the training and experience found amongst colonial clergy (as distinct from missionary clergy) during the same era, see Chapter 1 in Joseph Hardwick, *An Anglican British world: the Church of England and the expansion of the settler empire, c. 1790-1860* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

was also likely to have been diverse for each missionary moved through different institutions and societies.

Conclusion: singing the Lord's song in a strange land

This chapter set out to articulate what Gray meant by 'a knowledge of music' when he listed the attributes that he desired in the missionaries he recruited. As we have seen from the three case studies, and the brief comparison with the rest of the earliest group of missionaries to serve on the Anglican-Xhosa missions, there was great variety in the musical experience of the missionaries Gray recruited. What has been shown is that many missionaries were not trained musicians. What we have seen, however, is that in the backgrounds of most missionaries making music enacted religious beliefs and cultural values.

Missionaries had been presented with a clear understanding of what church music was, how it should be, and the ends it was meant to achieve. They had been immersed in a self-conscious, literate and formalized musical tradition which had a solid ecclesiastical foundation and framework. From early on in their lives, missionaries would have been socialised into a way of life in which music featured prominently. This did not mean that they were formed into musicians who possessed high technical abilities: it was more that music was simply part of everyday life. Wherever they were educated, they were under the guidance of various people who were educating them about music, its values, and its uses. They moved in circles where music can be said to have consistently figured: in schools the music education they received had the support of governors and teachers; as students in a missionary college they daily sang together; in urban centres they witnessed music festivals and programmes to improve lives through musical activity; and in parish churches they saw financial investment in new musical instruments.

Missionaries, then, were required (for the large part) to be musical, but they were not necessarily highly proficient musicians. They could be described, following Theodor Adorno, as 'emotional listeners': their musical consciousness did not necessarily arise out of an artistic awareness.¹²² While missionaries were both practitioners and listeners, the evidence examined in this chapter suggests that theirs was more a synthesized, rather than a technical knowledge of music: they were musical practitioners but their musical ability and expertise

¹²² See Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1989), pp. 8 and 19.

was not necessarily dependant on technical achievement. Rather, a large part of music's value was through association, something not reliant on a trained understanding of music's technical aspects.¹²³ This was shared across the society and organisation in which they worked and this ethos and framework was synthesized in the common practice of making music.

Inevitably, the level to which musicality had been developed varied from missionary to missionary, but each had to be able to demonstrate that music was part of the set of skills they would take into the mission field. There were, as far as we know, no formal qualifications or tests that needed to be passed. Rather, their churchmanship and education showed that they possessed sufficient experience and knowledge of the music they needed for the mission field. A knowledge of music on one level, then, meant knowing the cultural and religious frameworks of which music was part. Like religion itself, music was necessary to support, represent, and continue the practices they had learned in Britain as they were taken to the new environment of the mission field.¹²⁴ The contexts from which missionaries came, the expectations that their superiors had of them, and the ways in which they were equipped to carry out their duties, were only one side of their experience, and all were acquired while in the metropole. These were an important part of mission musical practice, but we now need to turn to understand the mission field in which they were to work, which was its own soundscape.

¹²³ Nicholas Cook, *Music, imagination, and culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 2. My approach is similar to Cook's distinction between the technical expertise of a highly-trained performer and the synthesized experience of an "ordinary" listener.

¹²⁴ Alexander Murdoch, *British emigration, 1603-1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 134.

CHAPTER 2 – ‘A Strange Monotonous Air’: the Sounds of the Cape

Introduction

What music did missionaries hear when they first arrived in the mission field, and what did it sound like? This is a question raised by comments such as this one made by William Greenstock in March 1859:

For the first few evenings since my arrival heathenish singing with clapping of hands was going on at a Fingoe kraal near. The native teachers remonstrated with the people, but they only met with abuse.¹

Greenstock's statement confirms that musical practices existed among the indigenous peoples of the Cape before the establishment of the Anglican-Xhosa missions. This is significant because one of the central aims of this thesis is to provide an understanding of what indigenous musical practices contributed to the music which developed on the Anglican-Xhosa missions. But finding out more about these musical cultures is obscured by the superficial and limited nature of the understandings provided by silent, written accounts of indigenous music making, of which Greenstock's is an example.² In this chapter, I focus on the representations that informed the negative and adverse reactions that missionaries had towards the musical practices of the Cape's indigenous peoples, and how these attitudes came to be formed. By identifying what it was about indigenous music that troubled British missionaries, I aim to characterise the features of indigenous music, in order to deepen our understanding about the place of music in indigenous society, and to facilitate a later discussion in this thesis about how indigenous musicality and music making shaped the styles and forms of music that British missionaries aimed to introduce.

¹ USPG, E.5 (1859), f. 287: William Greenstock, 'Report', 3 March 1859.

² Greenstock's comment also illustrates, from a sonic point of view, a general point made by Richard Price: that missionary culture was under constant pressure from what was going on around it. See, Richard Price, *Making empire: colonial encounters and the creation of imperial rule in nineteenth-century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 57.

Music was heard by missionaries through a set of learned filters, which were the ideas and knowledge that circulated about indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and their habits.³ Music was also one of the categories used by missionaries to establish and maintain difference between themselves and unconverted indigenous peoples. As Esmé Cleall has shown, missionaries were constantly having to reorient their project as they were unsettled by what confronted them in the field. Establishing and maintaining difference in their discourse was one way of creating stability.⁴ By the 1850s, there was no shortage of information about the Cape circulating in Britain and Europe, where literacy and access to various forms of media were increasing.⁵ Much of the information was available only in print (although there were many visual representations as well).⁶ There is a significant body of recent scholarship that has demonstrated how knowledge and ideas about the British colonial world circulated in Britain during the nineteenth century. For example, Elizabeth Elbourne has shown how transregional networks informed the ideas and debates over the nature of the relationship between indigenous peoples and settlers that took place in a variety of media such as newspapers and family letters. Similarly, Sadiya Qureshi has investigated the ways in which

³ The British Empire was constructed in the Victorian imagination through a variety of cultural texts. James R. Ryan, *Picturing empire: photography and the visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion, 1997), p. 20.

⁴ See Esmé Cleall, *Missionary discourses of difference: negotiating otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2012).

⁵ The period 1800-1855 saw a surge in the production of print material owing to advances in technology and the ability to produce more books at a faster rate. The result of this was more information being available in print. Also, 'Travel' became the second highest category of books printed between 1814 and 1846: 6,176 were titles published under this subject (compared with 7,268 titles in the highest category, Religion). Simon Eliot, *Some patterns and trends in British publishing, 1800-1919* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994), pp. 44-5, 106, 127.

⁶ It is difficult to provide exact data on how much literature about the Cape was available and who in Britain was reading it. A useful comparison can be made with The Cape's previous colonial power, The Netherlands. See in particular Ernst van den Boogart, 'Books on Black Africa. The Dutch publications and their owners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in *European sources for sub-Saharan Africa before 1900: use and abuse*, ed. by Beatrix Heintze and Adam Jones (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1987), pp. 115-128, which examines ownership of 'Africana' in the Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries and argues that not many owned books about Africa or the Cape. Nonetheless, print descriptions had begun amassing from before and during the Dutch occupation of the Cape in 1652. See, Rowland Raven-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck: callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652* (Cape Town: Struik, 1967) lists 153 accounts containing commentaries by people who called at the Cape before formal Dutch occupation began in 1652. See also Rowland Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702: The first fifty years of Dutch colonisation as seen by callers* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971).

the enormously popular ‘Shows of London’ contributed to the creation and maintenance of the British public’s views of indigenous peoples.⁷ Qureshi’s articulation of the impact of these shows demonstrates that information was not necessarily spread by means of print alone. In this chapter, I consider how sonic attitudes were informed almost entirely by visual and written (or print) materials, as few would have heard any kind of indigenous music making until they left Britain.

In recent years there has been increasing scholarly interest in what the sonic can tell us about colonial encounters, broadly speaking, especially moments of first contact such as the one recounted by Greenstock, and this has dovetailed with studies such as John Picker’s which shows how Victorian sensibilities in the metropole were shaped by sonic phenomena.⁸ Ochoa Gautier, for instance, has drawn attention to the importance of the epistemologies of sound and the role that vocalisations had in interactions between Europeans and indigenous peoples to show that aural moments represented ‘a contested site of different acoustic practices, a layering of contrastive listenings.’⁹ Gautier argues that in colonial Colombia people on both sides of the encounter were attempting to shape how the other side listened. Other scholars have begun to show interest in the ways in which non-Western musical forms impacted on Western ones. Gary Tomlinson has articulated the ways in which Western encounters with the music making of indigenous peoples had disruptive effects on Western ideas of music making.¹⁰ In seeking to understand more about the interweaving of missionary

⁷ Elizabeth Elbourne, ‘Indigenous peoples and imperial networks in the early nineteenth century: the politics of knowledge’, *Rediscovering the British world*, ed. by Phillip A. Buckner, *et al* (Calgary: Calgary University Press, 2005), pp. 59-85; Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on parade: exhibitions, empire, and anthropology in nineteenth-century Britain* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011). For another example, see Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill, eds., *Visions of empire: voyages, botany, and representations of nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) who examine how knowledge spread through letters, gardens of exotic plants and the “Shows of London” which brought new world ‘discoveries’ to large audiences of people in Britain.

⁸ John M. Picker, *Victorian soundscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁹ Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: listening and knowledge in nineteenth-century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 4

¹⁰ Gary Tomlinson, *The singing of the New World: indigenous voice in the era of European contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). This was often a conscious and deliberate process of “impact” on the part of Westerners to induce positive effects on European music. For instance, Sir William Jones, advocated traditional Indian Music because he believed it would improve European music. See *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, ed. by Garland Hampton Cannon, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), II, p. 759. The contention that Western music is conditioned by its “Others” is a central part of the contributions in

and indigenous musics we need to understand as much as possible about the musical baggage which was brought to the mission station from both sides of the encounter.¹¹

In this chapter, I will first outline some of the ideas that existed in British print media about the Cape and its indigenous peoples, to facilitate a later discussion about indigenous music itself. The chapter draws on missionary literature, and more general ethnographic literature written by commentators who visited the Cape, travelled around it, and published their accounts in Britain. We are hindered by a lack of audio resources, but in drawing on the contemporary print resources we have, I shall broaden our understanding not only of indigenous music in and of itself, but also the features of it which came to have a bearing on the development of an Anglican-Xhosa style of music making. First, I shall make some comments about the sources on which I draw.

Imagining the sound of the Cape

Much of the information I examine about the Cape was presented as comprehensive and objective, but in sonic terms it is patchy, incomplete and defective, not least because the medium of print lacks an auditory dimension.¹² My aim here is not to determine the factual accuracy of the information, nor is it intended for this survey to be conclusive and exhaustive.¹³ Rather, by providing some context, I wish to show the influence that the sonic had on the start of the cross-cultural relationship between missionaries and indigenous peoples.¹⁴ Knowing more about the ways in which the musical practice at the Cape was depicted in print culture will help us to understand more about both the ways in which missionaries listened and what it was that they heard. I focus on *how* indigenous musical

Georgina Born and Desmond Hesmondalgh (eds.), *Western music and its others: difference, representation, and appropriation in music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

¹¹ Ashis Nandy, *The intimate enemy: loss and recovery of self under colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 2 argues for the importance of considering cultural continuity in processes of colonialism.

¹² Before 1877, sound could only be 'recorded' in textual descriptions. After Thomas Edison invented the phonograph it became possible to capture audio clips in one place and time and replay them in another. Thus, people had to rely on descriptions, such as Greenstock's.

¹³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. by J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 34-6.

¹⁴ Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of empire: missionaries, Māori, and the question of the body* (Auckland: Auckland University press, 2015), in particular, pp. 27-34, has examined the 'encounters and entanglements' between Māori and Europeans, and how this impacted on the 'imperial social formation' of missionaries who worked in New Zealand.

culture was represented in order to show that missionaries were aware of its existence, to confirm its existence, and to argue, on the basis of its existence, that music on missions was about cultural exchange, rather than imposition.¹⁵ Furthermore, by paying consideration to what it was about indigenous music that troubled missionaries alongside the organological information we find in commentators' accounts, we will be able to reach some understanding of the musical culture which confronted missionaries.

It is an unavoidable fact that the only known sources about indigenous music of the period in question was written by Europeans, but these are the only contemporary historical sources available that can provide the 'clearest imaginings' of indigenous music making.¹⁶ At the outset, it should be stated that what commentators wrote about the indigenous music making they heard should be understood as re-presentations rather than representations: its framing was informed by ideological and cultural viewpoints.¹⁷ A challenge which I (and many other scholars working on pre-colonial societies) have had to grapple with is whether through reading these texts it is possible to get closer to indigenous experiences and views, and to construct a sympathetic history while relying on sources from only side of the encounter.¹⁸ Attempting to read into these texts for an 'indigenous voice' is, I believe, problematic as it would involve reading what are already highly-mediated textualisations for hints of an indigenous agency, a process which risks distorting even further an already silent

¹⁵ Cf. Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: colonial discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 20-2. For an example of the study of 'prehistoric' music-making, see Ann Buckley, 'Prelude: Organised sound and tonal art in long-term perspective', *Hearing the past: essays in historical Ethnomusicology and the archaeology of sound*, ed. by Ann Buckley (Liège: Université de Liège, 1998), pp. 9-16 (pp. 10-11).

¹⁶ I borrow the phrase 'clearest imaginings' from Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: postcolonial notes, queries, positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 4. David Smith, 'Colonial Encounters through the Prism of Music', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 33 (2002), 31-55 (p. 32) notes that oral traditions among the colonised are not sufficiently consistent or substantial to provide a thorough counter-perspective.

¹⁷ As John McAleer argues: 'The way in which these perceptions were recorded, digested and subsequently presented to others needs to be understood as forming part of a conceptual framework.' See his *Representing Africa: landscape exploration and empire in southern Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 5.

¹⁸ John Thornton, 'European documents and African history', in *Writing African history*, ed. by John Edward Philips (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), pp. 254-65 (pp. 254-5) has outlined and discussed some of the critical problems presented by working with European sources when writing African history. In what follows I remain aware of these caveats.

voice.¹⁹ An indigenous voice, however, is present: many of the commentators examined in this chapter could not have written their accounts without the assistance of indigenous collaborators and informants.²⁰

Thus, I focus on what happened to the British, European psyche through the encounter with indigenous music making. This approach resembles that of Katherine Brown to the analysis of Indian music recorded in Europeans' writing during the seventeenth century: what we find in these sources ought to be regarded as true and reflecting the intellectual frameworks of contemporary Europe.²¹ By concentrating on the ways in which indigenous musical cultures may have disturbed these frameworks, and keeping in mind that it was always difference that commentators wished to articulate, I hope to habilitate an indigenous voice in my account and establish some of the broad features of these musical cultures.

Historical Context: Putting the Cape in the British Imagination

The sources I examine originated in the context of an increased European interest in the Cape. These sources were the main means through which the Cape and its soundscapes were presented to the British public. Most commentaries were the result of scientific (especially botanical) research, as well as commercial assessments of the region. Before the arrival of Europeans, the recent history of the societies and polities found at the Cape involved cultural entanglements of its own. amaXhosa belonged to the Nguni-speaking peoples who had gradually migrated towards and settled in the South Eastern region of South Africa as recently as the sixteenth century. Here, as Paul Maylam has shown, they encountered societies and peoples already settled in the region, resulting in economic, social, cultural, and

¹⁹ For discussions from post-colonial literary studies of the issues surrounding the recovery of "subaltern"/indigenous voices see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the subaltern speak? Speculations on widow sacrifice', in *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: a reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Christmas (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 66-111 (p 103); Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), pp. 128-30; and Benita Parry, *Postcolonial studies: a materialist critique* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 24-35

²⁰ Siegfried Huigen, *Knowledge and colonialism: eighteenth-century travellers in South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). See also John McAleer, *Representing Africa*, p. 16, who draws attention to the importance of guides and indigenous informants.

²¹ Katherine Brown, 'Reading Indian Music: The Interpretation of seventeenth-century European travel-writing in the (re)construction of Indian music theory', *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 9:2 (2000), 1-34 (p. 5).

linguistic interaction between the different groups.²² Thus, indigenous societies were not themselves static but undergoing constant flux on account of the political, social, and cultural changes involved in the process of migration.

It was into this already complex situation of cultural fluidity that Europeans arrived. European interest and involvement in the region came through the Cape's position as a mid-way point on the sea trade route to India.²³ Between 1652 and 1795, The Cape of Good Hope had been under Dutch control, through the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* ('V.O.C.'), or Dutch East India Company. The French invasion, and subsequent capture, of the Netherlands during the Napoleonic Wars provided an opportunity for the British to take control of the Cape, which they managed in September 1795 with relative ease as the Dutch forces there offered hardly any resistance. This marked the beginning of British interest in and involvement with the Cape and the peoples living there. The extension of Britain's empire and commercial interests, and the importance of the sea route to India around the Cape, resulted in a deepening of British knowledge about the Southern tip of Africa and its peoples. When the British took over control of the region their information was sparse. Distances between towns and natural landmarks such as rivers and mountains were not known, and there were no accurate numbers for the population.²⁴ The culture of print was vital to this spread of information: as Robert Patten has shown, the British empire, in many ways, 'ran on print' at a time when the reading public enlarged to include new categories of readers such as the educated working class, from whose ranks many missionaries came (q.v. Chapter 1).²⁵

Many of the early impressions of the Cape's soundscape to enter the popular imagination of the British became entrenched. John Barrow (1764-1848) was probably the first and enduringly influential commentator to transmit information about The Cape to

²² Paul Maylam, *A history of the African people of South Africa: from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 14-21. Maylam provides a detailed study of the pre-colonial history of South Africa's indigenous peoples.

²³ This has been a long-held view. See Harry H. Johnston, *A History of the colonization of Africa by alien races* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 75.

²⁴ See Rachael Gilmour, *Grammars of colonialism : representing languages in colonial South Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), p. 33 for a discussion of British knowledge about the Cape during this period.

²⁵ Robert L. Patten, 'The New Cultural Marketplace: Victorian Publishing and Reading Practices' in Juliet John (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Victorian literary culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 483-506.

British administrators and the public at large. Barrow's writings contain some of the first accounts of indigenous musical culture to be read in Britain.²⁶ His opinion of Xhosa music making that 'Their skill in music is not above the level of the Hottentots' continued to be repeated. Harriet Ward (1808-73), writing nearly fifty years later quoted Barrow and then continued, 'I have never heard the Kaffirs evince any disposition to sing, unless I except the monotonous drawl which the women utter for the men to dance to.'²⁷

By 1854, when the Anglican-Xhosa missions were established, there was a vast ethnographic literature dealing with the Cape. There were, however, many other ways in which knowledge about the new territories of the British Empire was disseminated.²⁸ Some of this came from the 120,000 people of European origin living at the Cape, many of whom would have sent information back to Europe through the medium of letters.²⁹ There were also the 'Shows of London' which presented the indigenous peoples of the Cape to the British public.³⁰ The indigenous peoples of the Cape had also been one of the subjects of an exhibition at the Cosmorama Rooms on Regent Street, London.³¹ A lot of information would have been passed on and repeated by word of mouth, making its way through networks and groups formed around social activities and alliances. Finally, there was a profusion of 'emigration manuals', such as John Hill Burton's *The Emigrant's Manual: Australia: New Zealand, America and South Africa* (1851). These gave detailed accounts of all aspects of colonial life for those wishing to relocate to the Cape and elsewhere.

As we saw in Chapter 1, many missionaries did not receive any formal guidance from their supporting societies, and even those who underwent training did not learn much, if anything, about the culture and societies of the indigenous people among whom they were to

²⁶ John Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1801).

²⁷ Harriet Ward, *Five years in Kaffirland; with sketches of the late war in that country, to the conclusion of peace. Written on the spot* (London: Henry Colburn, 1848), p. 121. For a discussion of Harriet Ward, see Brian Cheadle, 'The Experience of Victorian Emigrants to The Cape at Mid-Century', *English Studies in Africa*, 35 (1992), 28-41 (pp. 31-25).

²⁸ Miller and Reill 'Introduction' in *Visions of empire*, p. 3.

²⁹ David Johnson, *Imagining the Cape Colony: history, literature, and the South African Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 1. Kate Teltscher, *India inscribed: European and British writing on India 1600-1800*. (Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks, 1997).

³⁰ Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 269 briefly discusses the Cape and its representation in these shows, but does not discuss or analyse any music that may have featured in these exhibitions.

³¹ S. Klopper, 'George French Angas' (Re)presentation of the Zulu in *The Kaffirs Illustrated*, *South African Journal of Cultural and Art History*, 3:1 (1989), 63-73 (p. 69).

work. Nonetheless, missionaries who came to work at the Cape would have moved in circles of knowledge that were informed by a combination of the sources mentioned in the previous paragraph. Out of these sources of information, print media would have been most prevalent in missionary culture. In the rest of this chapter, I identify and examine the two main groups of print literature which would have informed the circles and society from which missionaries came: missionary literature, and ethnographic literature.

I. Missionary Literature : to Christianise and to Civilise

Missions belonging to several denominational societies had been operating at the Cape since 1797, and so a substantial amount of missionary literature about the region had been generated by 1854.³² There were plenty of other sources from which missionaries would have been able to obtain information.³³ In this section, I shall focus on the sonic information that was available in order to show how a typical missionary might have aurally imagined the mission field. I examine a selection of sources from the genre known as ‘missionary literature’ that dealt with the region these sources provided.³⁴ The increase in overseas British missionary activity overseas during the 1800s led to the rise of this genre.³⁵ The genre included not only books containing accounts of overseas mission work, but also annual reports, printed sermons, missionary biographies, periodicals, and magazines, with each

³² For statistics of mission societies in South Africa, see J.J. du Plessis, *A history of Christian missions in South Africa* (New York: Longmans, 1911), p. 463. The London Missionary Society was the first to establish a presence at the Cape in 1797: J.J. du Plessis, *History of Missions*, p. 99.

³³ Missionaries of all denominations generated an enormous amount of printed material dealing with the African continent. For a dated yet illustrative example see Robert Streit and Johannes Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum, Siebzehnter Band: Afrikanische Missionsliteratur, 1700-1879* (Freiburg: Herder, 1952). For a descriptive assessment of *Bibliotheca Missionum* see David Henige, “‘Bibliotheca Missionum’: a case of benign neglect”, *History in Africa*, 5 (1978), 337-344.

³⁴ For a detailed study of the genre, see Johnston, *Missionary writing and empire*.

³⁵ Jeffrey Cox has noted the profusion of missionary literature: Jeffrey Cox, ‘From the Empire of Christ to the Third World: religion and the experience of Empire in the twentieth century’, in *Britain’s experience of empire in the twentieth century*, ed. by Andrew Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.76-121 (p. 88). Jane Haggis, ‘Professional Ladies and Working Wives: Female Missionaries in the London Missionary Society and its South Travancore District, South India in the 19th Century’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 1991), p. 90.

mission society producing its own set of publications.³⁶ Publishing accounts of the activities and concerns of overseas mission work to inform the British public, current missionaries, and prospective missionaries, was a significant part of the operations of mission organisations.³⁷ The number of copies produced by one society could enter into the tens of thousands and these were systematically distributed to churches, homes and other interested individuals and groups.³⁸ The information was coming from all over the world so missionaries would never be unlikely to have been unable to find information about a particular region. The net effect of this publishing activity was that there was no shortage in the availability of information, and it was always circulating in mission circles.

The Monthly Record

The most immediate sources of information for missionaries were the publications of their sponsoring societies and, for an S.P.G. missionary in 1854, this would have been *The Monthly Record*.³⁹ The periodical's aim was to provide information about the S.P.G.'s work overseas, through profiling the parts of the world in which the organization worked. In providing these profiles, it justified the need for the work missionaries were doing in converting the indigenous inhabitants of each region, but also spread knowledge of overseas to its readership.

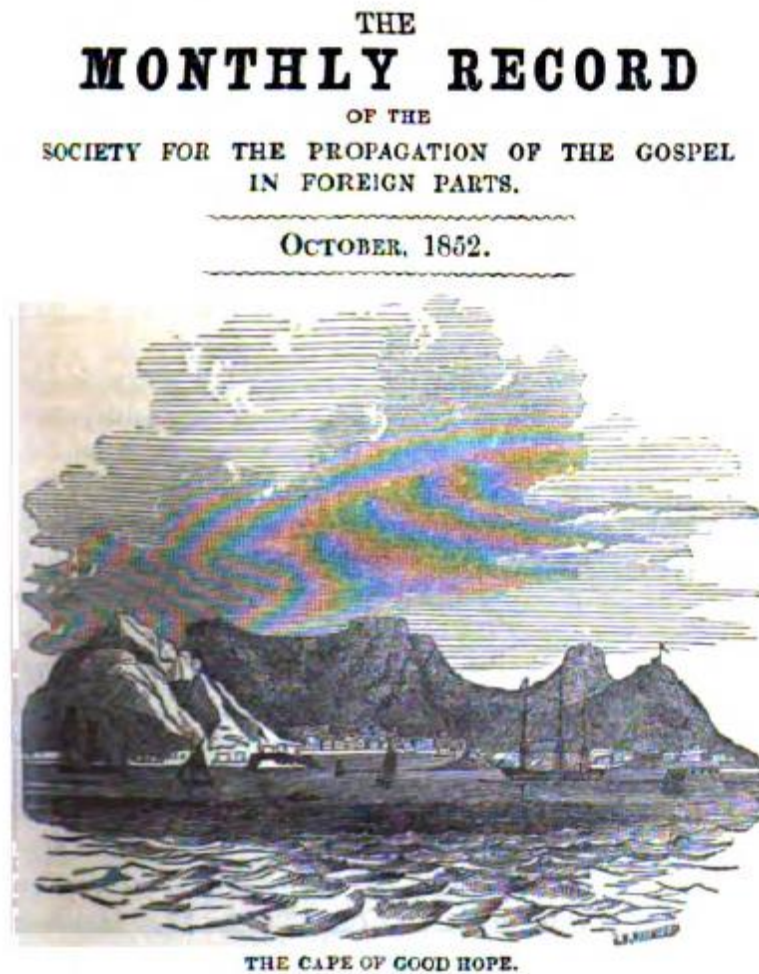
³⁶ See Zoe Laidlaw, *Colonial connections, 1815-45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 27-30 for an analysis and discussion of the ways in which knowledge about overseas mission territories moved through the missionary networks of Britain.

³⁷ See Jeffrey Cox, *The British missionary enterprise since 1700* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 115 for statistics.

³⁸ See especially chapter 6 in Cox, *The British missionary*.

³⁹ *The Monthly Record* was for the S.P.G. and contained histories of many dioceses where the S.P.G. had established a presence and ran from 1852-5. H.P. Thompson, *Into all lands: the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951), p. 723. The Church Missionary Society, for example, had its own periodical, *The Missionary Register*, as well as the *Missionary Intelligencer* and *The Church Missionary Society Proceedings*.

Figure 2.1 Front cover of *The Monthly Record* (October 1852)



The October and November issues for 1852 ran an eighty-one page feature on the Cape Colony and it is from these that we get an idea of the kind of information which missionaries destined for the Cape were given (see Figure 2.1). The anonymous author of the feature drew on four ‘authoritative’ sources: Robert Gray and Nathaniel Merriman, as well the journals of earlier commentators such as Anders Sparmann (1748-1820) and Charles Bunbury (1809-86). Gray and Merriman were influential figures in the Anglican missionary movement at the Cape and were known personally to many of the early cohort of missionaries, while Sparmann and Bunbury had travelled around the Cape and became two of the standard authorities on the region and its peoples.⁴⁰ *The Monthly Record*’s series on the

⁴⁰ Anders Sparmann visited the Cape with the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus in the 1770s. His commentary was written up as *A Voyage to The Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic polar circle, and round the world: but chiefly into the country of the Hottentots and*

Cape is important because the potted history and amalgam of statistics provided codified information which set up what missionaries could expect to find and hear when they arrived at the Cape.

A reader studying *The Monthly Record* would have been told that the Cape Colony itself stretched for 650 miles from Cape Town to the River Keiskamma: this part of South Africa alone was larger in size than the United Kingdom.⁴¹ There were two main groups of indigenous peoples with whom missions could expect to have contact. First were the ‘Bushmen’ and ‘Hottentots’ (‘savage barbarians’, as they were labelled) who could be found across most of the region.⁴² Immediately beyond the Keiskamma lay British Kaffraria, where missions were to be established. This was a quasi-independent territory, governed by amaXhosa chiefs, but still subject to the British Crown, who were divided into three tribes: the amaXhosa (referred to as ‘Amaxosa’) who were numbered at 80,000; the amaPondo (referred to as ‘Amamponda’) who numbered 160,000; and the abeThembu (or ‘Amatembu’ whose population totalled 90,000.⁴³ In the Cape Colony there were 30,000 English colonists, but *The Monthly Record* stated that none lived in British Kaffraria. In addition to settlers being in a minority, there was an absence of Anglican clergy: in 1847, there were only thirteen Church of England clergy ministering in this area.

The Monthly Record feature regularly referred to the indigenous inhabitants as ‘miserable’, or ‘savage’ or depicted them as generally ignorant.⁴⁴ These were the most commonly used adjectives to describe many aspects of indigenous society, including music.

Caffres, from the year 1772-1776. Translated from the Swedish, 2 vols (London: Robinson, 1875) and became a standard text on the Cape, going through several editions and reprints. Charles Bunbury stayed at the Cape in 1837, at the invitation of the British Governor, Sir Charles Napier. During his time there, he travelled and wrote up his observations as *Journal of a residence at The Cape of Good Hope; with excursions into the interior, and notes on the natural history, and the native tribes* (London: John Murray, 1848).

⁴¹ A. Wilmot and J.C. Chase, *History of the Cape of Good Hope from its discovery [...] to 1868* (Cape Town: Juta, 1869), p. 268, put the total area in 1820 at 128,150 square miles.

⁴² *The Monthly Record*, pp. 222 & 245. The names ‘Hottentots’ and ‘Bushmen’ were used to refer to the non-Bantu nomadic peoples of Southern Africa. Today these terms are considered derogatory and instead the peoples are referred to as KhoiKhoi and San, respectively. I use the historical terms in quotations only.

⁴³ *The Monthly Record*, p. 229. Andrew Steedman *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London: Longman and Co., 1835), p. 262, identified four distinct nations who spoke the ‘Caffer language’, but included in this count the Zulu nation.

⁴⁴ Something or someone described as ‘Savage’ had connotations of being untamed, or wild, ferocious and cruel. See the definition in Charles Richardson, *A new Dictionary of the English Language* (London: William Pickering, 1844).

The reasons for these negative labels lay in so-called historical fact and were well-established in the discourse. The first Europeans to encounter the Xhosa were Portuguese sailors on *Santa Cruz*, one of the ships involved in Bartholomew Dias' expedition to find a sea route from Europe to India. Upon entering the Great Fish River, they encountered the Xhosa who they found to be 'a savage sort of people'. Not only were they savage; they were apparently of no help to the sailors for, as *The Monthly Record* contended, they knew 'nothing of India'.⁴⁵ In addition to the qualities of savagery and ignorance ascribed to the local inhabitants, there was danger. A Viceroy of Portuguese-India, who allegedly attempted to form a settlement at Cape Town in 1510, was killed – along with seventy-five of his party – 'by the poisoned arrows of the natives.'⁴⁶ Such stories of danger along with words such as 'miserable' and 'savage' brought associations of danger and evil, which came to be perpetuated. The starting point, then, for a missionary reading these reports was that the indigenous people, societies, and cultures were things of which to be wary.

Indigenous people were however, believed to be capable of reform as the authors asserted the existence of a religious sense. This was evident in the successful attempts to missionise to the indigenous peoples of the Cape. Such efforts had begun in 1737 by the Moravians with the aim of lifting them from 'the gross darkness of their native heathenism'.⁴⁷ Anders Sparrman found the musical successes achieved by the Moravians as evidence of this. *The Monthly Record* quoted his account: 'At about 10 A.M., I took shelter from the rain in a farm house, where I found the female slaves at their needle-work, and, at the same time, singing psalms.'⁴⁸ Robert Gray, also, on his first visitation around the extensive diocese, was impressed to find at Genadendal (the largest Moravian mission), that the grace was sung 'very beautifully' before every meal.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *The Monthly Record*, October 1852, p. 219.

⁴⁶ *The Monthly Record*, p. 220. Also, p. 252: the murdered German missionary. This story is also recounted in John Chase Centlivres, *History of the Colony of The Cape of Good Hope, from its discovery to the year 1819* (Cape Town: Juta, 1869).

⁴⁷ *The Monthly Record*, p. 222. The Moravians, or 'United Brethren' as they were also known, published a periodical of their own known as *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the heathen* (1790-1961). There is a list of Moravian missionaries who worked in the Eastern Cape in the 19th century available at <http://www.safrika.org/Names/Herrnhuter> [accessed 10 December 2019]. The list is taken from Werner Schmidt, *Deutsche Wandernach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1955).

⁴⁸ *The Monthly Record*, p. 222.

⁴⁹ *The Monthly Record*, p. 235.

Little was said about musical practices found in indigenous societies, but the article suggested that they did not lack musical sensibility. This was evident in the story of a Xhosa chief known as Umhala. According to the *Monthly Record*, Chief Umhala once sentenced a man to be tortured with a red hot poker. ‘Yet’ as the article noted, ‘this same savage has been known to shed tears and retire from observation on hearing the band of a regiment.’ The story served to illustrate an important point the writer wished to make to readers: ‘Music, indeed, has a most powerful and soothing effect on a Kafir.’⁵⁰

One sonic feature of the Cape found in *The Monthly Record* was in the description of languages. People were characterised by how they sounded when they spoke. The language of the ‘Bushmen’ and ‘Hottentots’ was said to ‘clack’, an effect resulting from ‘striking the tongue against different parts of the mouth’.⁵¹ Their talking could also be ‘disagreeable’ and involve producing ‘croaking’ sounds from the throat. By contrast isiXhosa (or ‘Kafir language’ as the writer called it) was ‘of great power, simplicity and elegance’.⁵² Unlike the San and Khoikhoi, amaXhosa were reputed to speak in a dignified manner, replete with a ‘peculiar cadence’ in style, which gave it a lyricism which resulted in conversation sounding like a ‘chaunt’.⁵³ While there had been systematic studies that documented and characterised indigenous languages around the world, those at the Cape were still a source of fascination and bemusement, especially on account of the sounds that were produced when they were spoken.⁵⁴

This feature on the Cape, then, was concerned with the characteristics of the people and their social and religious state rather than any musical culture. What mention was made about music was to back up the article’s argument about the Cape’s indigenous peoples: they were seen as ‘savage heathens’ in need of Christian reform. The African was ‘savage’ because he was not Christian, and to a missionary Christianity, quite bluntly, was the handmaid of European civilisation. Furthermore, the use of the word ‘heathen’ (commonly found in discourse of the time when referring to indigenous peoples) emphasised the waywardness of indigenous societies. In the mid-nineteenth century, the word not only denoted societies that were seen as without deities in their religious frameworks, but were

⁵⁰ *The Monthly Record*, p. 248.

⁵¹ *The Monthly Record*, p. 244

⁵² *The Monthly Record*, p. 246.

⁵³ *The Monthly Record*, p. 245.

⁵⁴ See for example Wilhelm Bleek, *Handbook of African, Australian and Polynesian Philology*, 3 vols (London: Trübner and Co., (1858-63).

without the Christian God.⁵⁵ Within S.P.G. missionary circles what discourse existed about indigenous music making supported the views about indigenous society. It imparted one major lesson to prospective missionaries and supporters of mission work, that of the reform necessary in indigenous society and culture. They were certainly not beyond redemption, but their practices as they stood were wrong, and it was these which missionaries were going in to reform.

Missionary Literature beyond the S.P.G.

Outside of the S.P.G. there were plenty of other sources available, all of which contributed to the circulation of information about the Cape.⁵⁶ A bibliography of worldwide missionary literature available before 1861 was provided in William B. Boyce's *Statistics of Protestant missionary societies. 1861* (1863).⁵⁷ It listed twenty-three works of missionary literature dealing with South Africa published in either London or Edinburgh, more than half of which were written before 1856 (see Table 2.1).⁵⁸ To put this in a global context, the bibliography listed 294 books on missions published in Britain before 1861. A comparison of missionary levels of interest in different regions of the world can be drawn between the twenty-three books on South Africa and the fifteen books on China, twenty-three on the West Indies, five on East Africa, twenty-seven on West Africa, and sixty-three on India. In Africa, the Cape was the second most written about area, and third most worldwide. The surge in missionary activity which took place in South Africa during the 1840s and 1850s was reflected in the 1874 edition of Boyce's survey, where the number of books listed as dealing with South Africa had risen to forty-eight.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ This is a contemporary meaning attributed to the word in Charles Richardson, *A new dictionary of the English language* (London: William Pickering, 1844).

⁵⁶ Two useful online databases for British and other international missionary periodicals are the Online Mission Periodicals Guide <<https://guides.library.yale.edu/missionperiodicals>> [accessed 7 December 2019] and the Gateway to Missionary Collections in the United Kingdom ('MUNDUS') <<http://www.mundus.ac.uk/>> [accessed 7 December 2019].

⁵⁷ William B. Boyce, *Statistics of Protestant missionary societies. 1861* (London: William Nicholls, 1863).

⁵⁸ This section was entitled '**Selections** from Modern Missionary Literature' (my emphasis) so was by no means definitive and did not include works known to be in circulation such as *Mission in Caffraria* and Nathaniel Merriman's, *The Kafir, The Hottentot and the Frontier Farmer* both discussed below.

⁵⁹ William B. Boyce, *Statistics of Protestant missionary societies. 1872-3*. (London: William Nicholls, 1874).

Table 2.1 Missionary literature on South Africa as shown in William B. Boyce, *Statistics of Protestant missionary societies. 1861*. (London: William Nicholls, 1863), pp. 86-7.

Author and Title given as	Year
Vanderkemp, Dr., Life of, 8vo.	[1812]
‡Campbell's, J., First Journey in South Africa, 8vo.,	1815
‡Latrobe's, C.F., Journal in South Africa, 8vo.,	1821
‡Campbell's, J., Second Journey, Ditto, 2 vols., 8vo.,	1822
Thompson's, George, Travels in South Africa, 2 vols., 8vp.,	1827
Philip's, Dr., Researches in South Africa, 2 vols., 8vo.,	1828
Kay's, S., Travels and Researches in Kaffraria, 12mo.,	1833
Pringle's, Thomas, South Africa, 8vo.,	1835
‡Steedman's, A., Travels in South Africa, 2 vols., 8vo.,	1835
Gardiner's, A.F., Zulu Country, 8vo.,	1836
Shaw's, Barnabas, Memorials of Southern Africa, 8vo.,	1840
Moffat's, R., Missionary Labours in South Africa, 8vo.,	1842
Backhouses's, J., Visit to Mauritius and South Africa, 8vo.,	1844
Smith's, Thornley, South Africa, 12mo.,	1850
Freeman's, J.J., Tour in Southern Africa, 12mo.,	1851
Arbousset's [sic.], T., Exploratory Tour in South Africa, 12mo.	[1852]
Holden's, W.C., History of Natal, 8vo.	[1855]
Flemings's, Francis, South Africa, 12mo.	[1856]
Livingstone's, Dr., Travels in Southern Africa, 8vo.,	1857
Calderwood's, H., Caffres and Caffre Missions, 12mo.,	1858
Shaw's, William, Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa, 12mo.,	1860
Casalis's, E., Twenty-Three Years in Southern Africa, 12mo.,	1861
Mason's, G.H., Zululand, 12mo.,	1862
‡ Examined in this chapter	

Certain books were known to have been read by missionaries and were referred thought of as authorities. In his book, *First Steps of the Zulu Mission* (1860), John Colenso (1814-83), S.P.G. missionary bishop to the Zulus, endorsed George French Angas' *The Kafirs Illustrated* (1849) on account of the author's accurate description of a Zulu king.⁶⁰ This was praise from Colenso who had direct experience of working for a work which set out its aim as being to appeal to those 'who do not feel inclined themselves to penetrate the wilds

⁶⁰ John Colenso, *First Steps of the Zulu Mission (Mission to the Heathen no. XXXIX)* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1860), p. 79. For a contemporary biography of John Colenso see George W. Cox, *The Life of John Colenso, D.D. Bishop of Natal* (London: W. Ridgway, 1888). For a more recent appraisal of his life see Jeff Guy, *The heretic: a study of the life of John William Colenso 1814-1883* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983).

of Kafirland’ but who nonetheless through reading the work would ‘form a more correct knowledge’ of the peoples who inhabited the region.⁶¹

Missionary periodicals were, in the first place, a means of fundraising financial support for mission work, especially since they were paid for by subscription. But missionary literature existed for many reasons one of them being to disprove arguments that indigenous populations did not need to be converted to Christianity. This is evident in *Missions in Caffraria, from their commencement to the present time* (1833), which focussed exclusively on amaXhosa, and was written by an anonymous writer for the Religious Tract and Book Society and was one of the more recent accounts of the Cape to be written before Anglican missions established themselves.⁶² The view was that the ‘savage life’ was one of ‘innocence and happiness’ because of the ignorance in which indigenous people were viewed to live.⁶³ As such, the starting point of *Missions in Caffraria* was to outline the degradations in the indigenous society (the ‘melancholy effects’ of ignorance, as they were referred to) that would be ameliorated by the introduction of Christianity.

Particular attention was drawn to the many rituals and cultural practices of amaXhosa, particularly those that were regarded as inimical: the ‘cruel treatment of the sick’, and the inhumane practices towards the dying.⁶⁴ The author condemned these ‘deplorable calamities’ while the imbalances between male and female presented a further fault: women were ‘compelled to perform every kind of hard labour’ while men led lives of ‘perfect idleness’ with no employment besides going to war, hunting and milking cows.⁶⁵ The final conclusion reached was that amaXhosa were a ‘savage people’ on the basis that they had no system of writing, and therefore no means to preserve their history.⁶⁶ There was a suspicion about the absence of any evident systems of literacy and print – the introduction of which it was believed would enhance Xhosa society. amaXhosa were also savage on account of their ignorance about ritual meaning: ‘Everyone who is intimately acquainted with the Irish

⁶¹ George French Angas, *The Kafirs illustrated in a series of drawings taken among the Amazulu, Amaponda, and Amakosa tribes; also, portraits of the Hottentot, Malay, Fingo, and other races inhabiting southern Africa: together with sketches of landscape scenery* (London: J. Hogarth, 1849), p. vi.

⁶² *Missions in Caffraria, from their commencement to the present time* (Dublin: Religious Tract and Bible Society, MDCCCXXXIII).

⁶³ *Missions in Caffraria*, p. 20.

⁶⁴ *Missions in Caffraria*, pp. 11-13.

⁶⁵ *Missions in Caffraria*, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁶ *Missions in Caffraria*, p. 2.

peasantry will see how much the Caffer superstitions resemble theirs. They practice certain ceremonies without being able to assign an intelligent reason for doing so.’⁶⁷ Negative views such as these were used to characterise African people in general and were established in missionary frameworks well into the 20th century, as Brian Stanley has shown.⁶⁸

Despite the general perception that amaXhosa (and the Cape’s indigenous people generally) possessed no religious sense, most missionary literature held that this fault could be corrected. Music, as it was associated with deficient religious ceremonies, was one of the religious and cultural practices that needed reform: if religion was deficient, so were the practices, musical or otherwise, that went along with it. In describing this state, the author of *Mission in Caffraria* used a well-known scriptural type. The book described them as a people of the Old Testament and an example of ‘the Jews in the times of Moses and Joshua.’ The implication for the reader was clear: the indigenous peoples were of the Old Testament, of the Old Covenant, while missionaries were of the New Testament (being the fulfilment of the Old Testament), whose task it was to bring forward the indigenous religion and society. This kind of Biblical typology was a widely-used and familiar trope in nineteenth century literature, and the meanings would not have been lost on those reading this text.⁶⁹

The view within missionary literature that amaXhosa and the indigenous peoples at the Cape were for the most part areligious was influential on, and evident in, non-missionary commentaries. There was debate, however, over the exact nature (and, indeed, the very

⁶⁷ *Missions in Caffraria*, p. 17. Although writing on a different topic, Michelle Mendelssohn has explored and shown that Negrophobia and Celtophobia were commonly associated in various forms of nineteenth century British discourse. See Michelle Mendelssohn, *Making Oscar Wilde* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Patrick Brantlinger, ‘Empire, Place, and the Victorians’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*, ed. by Juliet John (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 233-250 (p. 240), notes how much of this racial profiling was linked to Anglo-Saxon identity. Race played ‘a central in categorizing social classes within Britain’ and that the Irish peasantry were viewed by the English (Anglo-Saxons) as an ‘inferior class’ on account of their racial difference.

⁶⁸ Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2009), p. 98.

⁶⁹ George Landow, *Victorian types, Victorian shadows: biblical typology in Victorian literature, art, and thought* (Boston: Routledge, 1980) demonstrates how typology, ‘a Christian form of biblical interpretation that proceeds on the assumption that God placed anticipations of Christ in the laws, events, and people of the Old Testament’ (p. ix), had a profound impact upon and permeated all aspects of nineteenth-century British literature and culture.

existence) of religion within indigenous societies.⁷⁰ John Barrow addressed the issue of amaXhosa religion and explained that the name ‘Kaffer’ was given to amaXhosa because early European voyagers did not find any evidence of religious beliefs or practices among the people.⁷¹ amaXhosa were generally viewed as not having a belief in any particular deity. For example, E.E. Napier, a soldier who was stationed at the Cape in 1846 and fought in the Anglo-Xhosa conflicts thought it ‘extremely doubtful’ that the Xhosa believed in a deity.⁷² Discussion about indigenous religion, tended to argue that it was linked to physical entities such as the moon, and other heavenly bodies, or natural phenomena. amaXhosa religion, it was generally agreed, was regulated by the cycle of the moon.⁷³ The exact nature of such beliefs was still, however, beyond the grasp of commentators because of their limited linguistic and cultural knowledge.

The most common form of rituals to be recorded were initiatory rites. Cowper Rose described how music accompanied circumcision rituals:

They performed a wild kind of dance, the principal motion of which was a whirl, while the women sang a monotonous air, and kept beating an extended ox-hide, which they stood round.⁷⁴

Many ceremonies included some form of dancing in addition to music. Nathaniel Merriman described Xhosa circumcision rituals as ‘lame affairs’ which involved the participants ‘leaping vigorously into the air together’ while the music involved consisted of ‘chanting at the same time as an accompaniment.’⁷⁵ The effects these ceremonies had were also seen by some commentators as detrimental to the participants. Andrew Steedman, believed that a Xhosa girl he met was ‘far gone into consumption because of initiatory dancings and

⁷⁰ For an old, but thorough account of Xhosa religious history see J.B. Peires, ‘Nxele, Ntsikana and the origins of the Xhosa religious reaction’, *Journal of Africa History* 20:1 (1979), 51-61 (pp. 54-5).

⁷¹ John Barrow, *An account*, p. 218.

⁷² E.E. Napier, *Excursions in Southern Africa, including a history of the Cape Colony, an account of the native tribes*, 2 vols (London: William Shorbel, 1849), II, p. 127.

⁷³ Napier, *Excursions*, p. 127 noted what he had observed: ‘full moon brings [a] season of gladness. [They] will pass whole nights in song and dance.’

⁷⁴ Cowper Rose, *Four years in Southern Africa* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), p. 146.

⁷⁵ Nathaniel Merriman, *The Kafir, The Hottentot, and the Frontier Farmer: passages of missionary life from the journals of the Venerable Archdeacon Merriman* (London: George Bell, 1854), p. 34.

singsings' which accompanied initiation rituals.⁷⁶ Such utterances contributed to the generally disdainful view that Europeans had for indigenous religious ceremony and practice.

Other rituals at which music was observed included religious initiations and supplications for various afflictions. In a section of his *Account* (1807) entitled 'Magic or Witchcraft', Ludwig Alberti, a Dutch administrator working at the Cape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, described two ceremonies, one, a witchcraft divining ceremony which involved dancing, singing and clapping, and another for rainmaking at which the magician and assembled people sang and danced.⁷⁷ The latter ceremony also the involved slaughtering of an animal and then splattering the blood of the dead beast over the people.

The account of C.I. Latrobe

The concern with identifying and correcting the faults of indigenous peoples could be found in another earlier and influential work of missionary commentary, C.I. Latrobe's *Journal of a visit to South Africa* (1818).⁷⁸ Latrobe's authority as a missionary writer came from his direct experience of the Cape and its peoples, but, as a musician, composer, and editor of church music (hymnbooks in particular), as well moving in exalted musical circles (he was friends with the composer J.F. Haydn) he was a noted cultural figure.⁷⁹ He was sent to the Cape to gather information and report on the mission work of the United Brethren (also known as 'Moravians') and the published journal resulted from his report. Latrobe's stated objective was to consolidate support for mission work from the political authorities at the Cape so as to further 'the beneficial influence of Christianity in enlightening and civilizing Heathen nations.'⁸⁰ Here is another reiteration of the symbiosis between Christianising and

⁷⁶ Steedman, *Wanderings*, p. 273.

⁷⁷ Ludwig Alberti, *Account of the Xhosa in 1807*, trans. W. Fehr (Cape Town: Balkema, 1968), p. 49. Alberti's account was originally published as Lodewyk Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika, natuur en Geschiedkundig beschreven voor Lodewyk Alberti* (Amsterdam: E. Maaskamp, 1810).

⁷⁸ A review in *The Christian Observer* noted that the work was 'of such real interest' and 'well calculated for the public amusement and instruction.' *The Christian Observer, conducted by members of the Established Church*, 19 (April, 1820), p. 243.

⁷⁹ Latrobe's map can be found in Appendix B, p. 264. On Latrobe and Haydn, see Rachel Cowgill, 'The Papers of C.I. Latrobe: New Light on Musicians, Music and the Christian Family in Late Eighteenth-Century England', in *Music in eighteenth-century England*, ed. by David Wyn Jones (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 234-60 (p. 234).

⁸⁰ C.I. Latrobe, *Journal of a visit to South Africa, in 1815, and 1816, with some account of the missionary settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1818), p. v.

Civilising. Latrobe explicitly stated his indebtedness to earlier explorers such as Sparmann, Barrow and Lichtenstein, for scientific information, an indication of the borrowing and exchange which took place between writers, which led to the recycling of ideas about the Cape.

Like *Missions in Caffraria*, Latrobe set out an argument for Christian missions to the indigenous peoples at the Cape. This change had not only religious but also moral and civil benefits:

The effect of Christian instruction contributes most towards raising them from the abject and wretched state, into which they had been plunged, by gradually changing their dispositions, and making them obedient, not only to the precepts of the Gospel, but to all those moral and civil obligations which it inculcates, as they are successively explained to them by their teachers.⁸¹

Latrobe was also a musical authority, and although *Journal* was not a musical work he used musical and sonic evidence to support his argument for the Christianising (and civilising) of the indigenous peoples.⁸² There were three ways in which he used sonic information to reinforce his observations of the change that missionary work had achieved in indigenous groups. First, his reports of any music making by indigenous groups were exclusively Christian and European. When he arrived at the Moravian mission station of Groenekloof, he was greeted by indigenous converts singing a hymn.⁸³ He also referred to organs he saw and heard in churches, such as the one which he observed at EersteRivier.⁸⁴ Mention of these instruments indicated that European means of music making were being heard in the mission field.

⁸¹ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 128.

⁸² Latrobe was known for his publication *The Music of the Church considered in its various branches, congregational and choral: an historical and practical treatise for the general reader* (London: Seeley and Sons, 1831). For an appraisal see Nicholas Temperley, 'Latrobe [La Trobe], Christian Ignatius', *Grove Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016083>> [accessed 17 September 2019]. See also Karl Kroeger, 'Christian Ignatius Latrobe', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/c/christian-ignatius-latrobe>> [accessed 17 September 2019].

⁸³ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 41. Latrobe also mentioned several other occasions on which he heard 'Hottentots' singing hymns.

⁸⁴ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 54.

Second, he used sonic symbols to demonstrate that patterns of behaviour had changed, or that the difficulties and harsh realities of life in the mission field had been overcome. Here, bells were the sonic marker of change. Their ringing at mission stations provided sonic signs of the order brought by missionary activity. For instance, he noted that the bell at a mission station gave a signal to the mission inhabitants of the times for prayer, meals, and other activities, and that its call was heeded by the station's inhabitants.⁸⁵ Another function of the bell was to scare the many wild animals which he heard near the places where he stayed.⁸⁶ There was a definite sonic contrast between the confines of the mission station and the untamed and unchanged territories which lay beyond it. However, as William Shaw noted in his account of mission work among the Xhosa, *The Story of My Mission in South-Eastern Africa* (1860), the sonic symbols of mission were often interpreted differently by indigenous groups. Shaw noted how some Xhosa saw the ringing of the mission bell at Wesleyville as responsible for driving away rain clouds.⁸⁷ Missionaries were no doubt aware of the contests that took place over their symbols, as meanings were often interpreted differently by indigenous people, something that I explore further in the next chapter.

Finally, Latrobe noted evidence he encountered of the adoption of Western musical techniques and styles. Latrobe was complimentary of the music he heard coming from an indigenous group because he was able to identify their use of the technique of 'Retardation' which they 'sweetly performed'.⁸⁸ Figure 2.2 is a musical example he included to demonstrate the technique he had heard being used. This was a compositional technique with which he would have been familiar in his musical culture and which he identified as in use by indigenous musicians. Whether Latrobe intended this to show the use of this technique in indigenous music making, or that indigenous people were able to learn such techniques is not clear, but he was also generally impressed at hearing indigenous congregants singing 'tunes [...] some of the most lively now in use in some chapels in England.'⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 65.

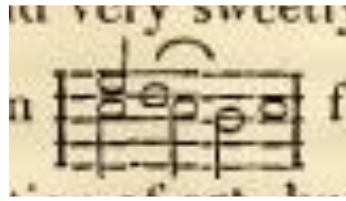
⁸⁶ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 200.

⁸⁷ William Shaw, *The story of my mission in South-Eastern Africa* (London: Hamilton, 1860), pp. 460-6.

⁸⁸ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 69. 'Retardation' is a type of suspension where the non-harmonic note resolves with an upward movement. What Latrobe demonstrated here appears to be a normal suspension as the non-harmonic resolves downwards.

⁸⁹ Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 143.

Figure 2.2 *Latrobe's example of 'Retardation'*



Source: Latrobe, *Journal*, p. 69.

It can be seen, then, that when positive descriptions of indigenous people making music were presented in missionary literature, it was overwhelmingly when they were making music in Western styles. This helped to establish the idea that indigenous peoples possessed musicality, but what was defective was the music that they presently made. Furthermore, describing this kind Western and European music-making was important because it demonstrated that reform of the indigenous population was possible. Where indigenous people were described making music in their own styles and to serve non-Christian, non-European purposes, it was noted in passing and dismissed. Missionary literature was mostly concerned with demonstrating the need for reform in indigenous societies and so missionary commentators were concerned with emphasising the inherent faults in indigenous society. The need for reform was ultimately the major theme of missionary literature, and confirmed for missionaries not only their “superior” cultural status, but also provided justification for missionary work. This work was required at every level of religion, society and culture. It was through this discourse of reform that music was heard.

These are the sorts of stereotypes were perpetuated across the missionary literature of different societies. Leon de Kock has examined missionary discourse about the Cape and shown that missionaries routinely stuck to perpetuating certain stereotypes because of the religious and ideological frameworks in which they operated.⁹⁰ De Kock observes that missionaries did not wish ‘to discover heterogeneity, but always to confirm pre-existent notions.’⁹¹ This was largely on account of the knowledge to which they had been exposed before leaving for the Cape, but also because they were aware of the publicity their

⁹⁰ Leon de Kock, *Civilising barbarians: missionary narrative and African textual response in nineteenth-century South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1996).

⁹¹ De Kock, *Civilising barbarians*, p. 82.

descriptions needed to generate, specifically in demonstrating the differences between Europeans and Africans.⁹²

Works of Fiction

A small, but nonetheless important and influential, body of fictional works dealt with the Cape and its indigenous peoples. While the number of works of fiction set at the Cape was limited during the period in question, this genre was nonetheless a further source of information about missionary activity for the British reading public.⁹³ Moreover, many of the details for plot and characterisation were drawn from works of non-fiction. As Anna Johnston has shown, missionary stories and characters were found in many fictional texts, and these served to entrench further an idea of what it was like to be in the mission field.⁹⁴ They are thus worth considering here because such works often amplified the observations of missionary commentators.

One of the most well-known examples of fiction (and one of the first novels in English to use the Cape as a setting) was *The English Boy at the Cape* (1835), written by the social commentator Edward Augustus Kendall.⁹⁵ Kendall had lived at the Cape, and so his knowledge was largely based on first-hand experience, and thus drew his authority from this direct experience. The novel fell into the genre of the ‘emigration narrative’ – works which highlighted the benefits of life in the colonies – and would thus have been of interest to anyone wishing to relocate to the Cape.⁹⁶ *The English Boy at the Cape* narrated the story of Charles, a boy orphaned after leaving Britain for the Cape, and his encounters with the indigenous people who cared for him.

Where music featured in this novel, its function was to support the characterisation of indigenous peoples. For example, the ‘Caffres’ were described as an ‘eloquent’ people, and

⁹² Natasha Erlank, “‘Civilizing the African’: The Scottish Mission to the Xhosa, 1821-64”, in *Christian missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. by Brian Stanley (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 141-68 (p. 151).

⁹³ For a survey of works of fiction set at the Cape, see Johnson, *Imagining the Cape Colony*, pp. 143-7. Missionary stories in fiction were also more popular in the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁹⁴ See Johnston, *Missionary writing and empire*, p. 20.

⁹⁵ Edward Augustus Kendall, *The English boy at the Cape: an Anglo-African Story*, 3 vols (London: Whittaker & Co, 1835), III. See also Elwyn Jenkins, *National character in South Africa children’s literature* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 125 & 161 for a discussion of this novel.

⁹⁶ For a discussion of the ‘emigration narrative’, see Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 24.

‘Neither,’ continued the narrator, ‘were they behind-hand [...] in the multitude of their songs, or in their ear or their capacities for music.’⁹⁷ They were able to quickly ‘catch’ and ‘imitate’ tunes and words and, furthermore, possessed a musical sensibility. Reference was made in a footnote to an apparently factual account from a German military officer, who ‘happening to play an air of Gluck’s [...] observed that it was listened to with the deepest attention, and that some of the women were even affected by it to tears.’⁹⁸ Subsequently, it was alleged, the tune was heard all over the country ‘with accompaniments’. Such stories of indigenous people adopting European music were found in non-fiction as well. For instance Robert Gray in his account of 1850 observed indigenous people playing the violin.⁹⁹ Percival Kirby, the twentieth century authority on indigenous music of South Africa, noted that indigenous groups enthusiastically adopted violins shortly after Europeans introduced them, as they ‘appear to have been struck by the musical possibilities of the violin.’¹⁰⁰ Kirby maintained further that a practice of local construction techniques developed as indigenous peoples adapted the instrument. The cross-cultural adoption of musical practices therefore appears to have been a common occurrence.

There were three main generalisations of Xhosa musical character, therefore, that were supported in fictional accounts. In the first place, the Cape’s indigenous inhabitants were not devoid of music and musical culture. Second, they were believed to possess an inherent musicality, and, finally, they were able to adopt alternative cultural styles of expression introduced by European settlers. Music was thus a means of intercultural contact, which enabled communication where there were linguistic barriers. In such cases, therefore, indigenous people were represented not necessarily as barbaric or possessing forms of cultural expression lacking in depth. Rather, music demonstrated a means for righting the ways of a society which, to the European mind, at least, required amendment.

⁹⁷ *English Boy at The Cape*, III, p. 32. This was a common characterisation of the Cape’s indigenous people who were often contrasted with the indigenous peoples of West Africa. The former were portrayed as simple and pastoral, unlike their West African counterparts who were warlike and intimidating. See Dorothy Hammond, *The Africa that never was* (Illinois: Waveland Press, 1992), p. 39.

⁹⁸ *English Boy at The Cape*, III, p. 32 (fn. 1).

⁹⁹ Robert Gray, *A journal of the bishop’s visitation tour through The Cape Colony in 1850* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1851), p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ Percival Kirby, *The musical instruments of the native races of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 246.

Like non-fiction missionary literature, there was very little technical information about the music making among the Cape's indigenous peoples. Where authors included musical descriptions, they served rhetorical purposes, and did not intend to give specifics about music. Therefore, any positive images of indigenous music making were generally aimed at showing how quick indigenous people were at adopting Western musical styles. Missionary literature and a small body of fictional writings would have provided a motivation that prepared missionaries for the mission field by giving them a *raison d'être*, namely that through whatever cultural means, including music, they were to bring about change in the local indigenous population. Music formed part of the constructs that circulated in missionary literature, and, simply put, presented missionaries to reiterate the assumptions they had learned from print literature about indigenous cultures.

II. Ethnographic Literature

Although missionary literature would have been the most direct source of information to missionaries, there were other means by which information about the Cape, its soundscape and its peoples would have circulated in Britain. A more detailed picture of musical activity emerges from the other main body of literature dealing with the Cape: commentaries by travellers and explorers. The primary concern, simply put, of most commentaries on the Cape was detailing what was found there. This involved describing the landscape, the people, flora, and fauna. In other words, works falling into this category aimed to provide a total classification and characterisation of the region, and while music was not the sole concern of these works, they provide a further sense of the filters through which music was heard and imagined.¹⁰¹ In this section, I examine a representative selection of works in this category in order to show how they represented the Cape's peoples and their music.

¹⁰¹ Marika Vicziany who has noted that statistical reports of the period, involved a totalizing classification and characterisation of the land and its people, and how they could be improved. Their ambit was thus far broader than we might think of a statistical survey today. Marika Vicziany, 'Imperialism, Botany and Statistics in Nineteenth-Century India: The Surveys of Francis Buchana (1762-1829)', *Modern Asian Studies*, 20:4 (1986), 625-60 (p. 648).

One of the earliest works to do this for the British public was John Barrow's *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*.¹⁰² Barrow's reputation and authority was based in his imperial career.¹⁰³ He had served in China in Lord Macartney's embassy and published several books containing recollections of his time there and observations of the Chinese society and culture he observed. When Macartney was appointed governor of The Cape of Good Hope in 1797, Barrow accompanied him as personal secretary. One of the first tasks assigned to Barrow was to travel the newly-acquired British territory, gathering information about the possibilities for trade and commerce with the indigenous peoples, the extent and value of natural and mineral resources, and to suggest suitable locations for the development of infrastructure such as towns and ports. Barrow's travels around the Cape in 1797 and 1798 were published in London in 1801 and again in 1804, and cemented his reputation as an authoritative voice on the territory.

Barrow's *An Account* essentially mapped out the Cape for the British reading public. Nigel Penn has already shown how Barrow's *An Account* mapped the Cape in two significant ways.¹⁰⁴ First, there was the literal, cartographic mapping, which provided an image of the physical landscape across which he travelled. Second, was the cognitive mapping in which the landscape and the peoples inhabiting it were presented through prose descriptions. These provided those who read *An Account* with 'cognitive coordinates': means by which to imagine the places and peoples he portrayed.¹⁰⁵ After all, one of Barrow's aims was noted in the subtitle: he presented observations about 'the physical and moral characters of the various tribes and inhabitants.' Sonic descriptions featured in Barrow's account of the Cape, and (like many commentators) he presented a soundscape that was part of the character of the land he constructed for his readers to imagine, and this functioned as evidence of the arguments he presented.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² John Barrow, *An account*.

¹⁰³ On imperial careers, see David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial lives across the British Empire: imperial careering in the long nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁰⁴ Nigel Penn, 'Mapping The Cape: John Barrow and the First British Occupation of the Colony, 1795-1803', *Maps and Africa*, ed. by Jeffrey Stone (Aberdeen University African Studies Group, 1994), pp. 108-27.

¹⁰⁵ Nigel Penn, 'Mapping The Cape', pp. 110-1.

¹⁰⁶ Mark M. Smith, *Listening to nineteenth-century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); p. 56: 'Aurality, meanings of sound, ways of hearing were part and parcel of the cultural baggage European adventurers, explorers, and colonizers took with them on [...] imperial quests.'

An example of how these sonic cognitive coordinates functioned can be found in one of Barrow's descriptions of animal sounds. He wrote of hearing 'the roaring of lions, the bellowing of buffaloes, the howling of wolves' at night. These were in counterpoint to the 'timid looting of our oxen'. The oxen belonging to Barrow and his travelling party were animals of industry and usefulness, in contrast to the wild animals. A dichotomy separating the tame and the wild was evident through the contrasting adjectives used to describe the two different groups of animals. He also employed a musical metaphor to depict the sounds he heard at night around his campsite: 'the nocturnal concert that could not be said to produce much harmony to us who were encamped in the midst of a forest of which we could discern no end.'¹⁰⁷

John Barrow's *An Account* contained many clichés that prevailed about the Cape, and whose longevity was sustained over a significant period of time. Many were perpetuated in the missionary literature discussed above. In general, Barrow's narrative portrayed the Cape as wild, savage, uncivilised and largely unpopulated. The indigenous peoples who inhabited the land were portrayed in much the same way: simple, naïve, and, at times untrustworthy. By association, their culture was limited, unsophisticated and lacking in technological sophistication. This was echoed in the characterisation of the soundscape and musical culture which was, variously, empty, quiet, and lacking in melody. The attitude towards indigenous music making was informed by the views commentators formed of indigenous societies.

The motivation behind the argument of most commentaries was to show the simplicity that was attributed to indigenous societies. The archetypal technique employed here was to provide brief lists of the attributes of indigenous people's characteristics, activities and interests in order to demonstrate this simplicity. So, for instance, The Royal Geographical Society's *Journal* wrote of amaXhosa that they were 'cheerful' and 'indifferent' to the future, a stereotype applied in other parts of the continent that had a long and established lineage in European literature.¹⁰⁸ The interests which demonstrated this apparent short-sighted existence included the 'amusements' of hunting, dancing, and singing;

¹⁰⁷ Barrow, *An Account*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁸ See John Owen Hunwick, *West Africa and the Arab world: historical and contemporary perspectives* (Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991).

again, these were characterisations not exclusive to the Cape.¹⁰⁹ Simplicity was thus demonstrated in the pastoral existence and general state of ignorance.

Simplicity took the form of a number of faults which were articulated across the writings of several commentators. The first was the absence of written literacy and print technology. As we have already seen, the indigenous oral tradition which governed the transmission of historical, cultural and religious knowledge often led to dismissive conclusions from missionary commentators. The general view that pervaded was that indigenous cultures were defective, because of the practice of oral transmission of values which were regarded as inferior to the European practice of written documentation. The absence of literacy and numeracy, especially a written history, was a concern of many commentators. Ludwig Alberti, for example, reasoned that accounts of Xhosa history were ‘impossible [...] because of the ignorance of the Kaffers themselves in this regard.’¹¹⁰ John Campbell was of the view that the Xhosa ‘considered reading and writing as insignificant and of no use.’¹¹¹ Some commentators were more generous, and ascribed the absence of written historical documentation to some sort of fallen state from a previous position of sophistication, a view that led to speculation about the Xhosa people’s past. Cowper Rose opined that the Xhosa ‘are a people who had once a much greater degree of civilization than they now possess.’¹¹²

The basis of the economy of indigenous societies was another topical fault. In the absence of any currency, most commentators recognised that cattle held religious significance for the Xhosa. William Paterson noted that the horns of cattle were shaped to enhance their value and aesthetic appeal.¹¹³ The economy was largely established on this commodity and other minor occupations. The occupations Paterson listed were fashioning weapons, baskets, cultivating a limited number of crops and keeping animals (chiefly cattle and dogs).¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ *Royal Geographical Society Journal*, 5 (1835), p. 325. Dancing was also an evident theme of representation in characterising Africans in other parts of the continent. Kofi Agawu, *Representing African*, pp. 55-6.

¹¹⁰ Alberti, *An Account*, p. 2.

¹¹¹ John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society* (London: Black and Parry, 1815), p. 517.

¹¹² Rose, *Four years*, p. 57.

¹¹³ William Paterson, *A Narrative of Four Journeys in the Country of the Hottentots, and Caffraria in the Years One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Seven, Eight, and Nine* (London: J. Johnson, 1789), p. 94.

¹¹⁴ Paterson, *A Narrative*, p. 94.

Merriman did not observe many skills or handicrafts, apart from metallurgy, and judged that the obsession with cattle was to the detriment of the land which was not well cultivated.¹¹⁵ The importance of cattle informed Xhosa sonic aesthetics. Alberti noted: 'The bellowing or mooing of a cow is so pleasing in the ear of a Kaffir that it can enchant it to the point where he will pay greatly in excess of its worth.'¹¹⁶

The last comment by Alberti is an example of how judgments were made about the aesthetics that governed indigenous peoples' listening. Closely linked to the ways in which indigenous people listened were the ways in which they expressed themselves sonically, the two principal means being language and music. Commentators described language in various ways ranging from fascination, to bemusement, to repulsion. On the language he heard being spoken by the Xhosa, Barrow wrote:

soft, fluent, and harmonious; has neither the monotonous mouthing of the savage, nor the nasal nor guttural sounds that prevailed in almost all the European tongues.¹¹⁷

Alberti's description of isiXhosa was similar to that of Barrow's:

the sound of the Kaffir-language is very euphonious and smooth; one misses the letter 'R' in it completely, and only now and then is it changed by clicks of the tongue, which does not, however, by any means occur so often or in such an unpleasant way, as is the case with the Hottentots and Bushmen.¹¹⁸

Language was an important means of characterising indigenous peoples. In the absence of any engagement on the level of meaning, commentators would resort to descriptions based on analogy or comparison. Such crude presentations had been established from earlier eras and can be found in works such as Rees' *The 'Cyclopedia* published in 1819 which noted:

The language of the Hottentots is said to be a composition of strange and disagreeable sounds, resembling rather the noise of irritated turkies, the chattering of magpies, hooting of owls, than human sound or articulation, and depending on extraordinary vibrations, inflections, and clashings of the tongue against the palate; and therefore it

¹¹⁵ A view shared by John Campbell, *Travels*, p. 517.

¹¹⁶ Alberti, *An Account*, p. 54.

¹¹⁷ Barrow, *An Account*, p. 218.

¹¹⁸ Alberti, *An Account*, p. 44.

is no wonder that it should be understood by few, and that the knowledge of it can scarcely be acquired by persons of any other nation.¹¹⁹

It should be remembered that what could be seen as negative portrayals of indigenous culture were not deployed by all commentators, especially after the founding of the Aborigines' Protection Society (1837) and the publication of the *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes* (also in 1837) which created awareness of the treatment of the indigenous inhabitants in Britain's overseas territories. As a result of such publications and the awareness they generated many commentators stated sympathy for the treatment of indigenous inhabitants at the hands of colonists and made more favourable assessments. One such was J.M. Beverley (1798-1868), an humanitarian who, while having no direct experience of the Cape and its peoples, wrote a work of protest against Britain's colonial policies towards the indigenous peoples of South Africa.¹²⁰ Beverley argued against the notion that 'the Caffre is born and notoriously bred a cattle-stealer and a rogue.'¹²¹ In appearance, Beverley portrayed the Xhosa as a 'fine race' and described them with adjectives such as 'noble' and 'graceful'.¹²² For Beverley, the external appearances and customs of these people were superficial markers of their state of civilisation. In fact, Beverley believed the Xhosa to show up British society:

It appears to me, that setting aside the externals of clothing, and conveniences of civilized life, and viewing the savage mind in a moral and philosophical light, the lower orders of the English nation are in many places more *savage* than the Caffres – more savage in coarseness of mind and manners, more desperate, unrestrained, uncivilized, and in one word, very far below the Amakosae in the scale of recovered humanity.¹²³

¹¹⁹ See the entry 'Hottentot' in Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London: Longman, 1819), XIX. For a discussion of Rees and the production of encyclopaedic knowledge in the early nineteenth century, see Richard Yeo, 'Reading Encyclopedias: Science and the Organization of Knowledge in British Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences, 1730-1850', *Isis*, 82:1 (1991), 22-49.

¹²⁰ Matthew Shun, 'Writing settlement and empire: The Cape after 1820', in *The Cambridge History of South African Literature*, ed. by David Attwell and Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 181-203 (p. 191).

¹²¹ [J.M. Beverley], *The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation; a narrative, by Justus* (London: James Duncan, 1837), p. ix.

¹²² Beverley, *Wrongs*, p. 55.

¹²³ Beverley, *Wrongs*, p. 60.

Other writings corroborated Beverley's views of the nobility and fine nature of the Xhosa, even if this was based on external appearances alone. External appearances, however, often gave rise to confused and conflicted characterisations of the people. On the same page of E.E. Napier's *Excursions in Southern Africa* (1849) two contrasting images of the Xhosa were conveyed:¹²⁴ one presented their character as 'rapacious, cowardly, and cruel' in character; the other, commenting on their appearance, likened them to 'Etruscan statues representing Hercules'. In person, they were 'fine, tall, athletic-looking'.¹²⁵

What arose, then, in the discourse was a confused image of the indigenous peoples of the Cape. On the one hand, their language was unintelligible to Europeans (a condition that was found in another means of sonic expression, music), but at the same time commentators found it 'euphonious and smooth' as Barrow described it. Customs were perceived as unsophisticated and crude, and there was no identifiable written history. On the other hand, the simplicity that characterised indigenous society was, at times, viewed as a positive attribute. It was through this confused image of the society and customs of indigenous peoples that music came first to be presented, and then, ultimately, perceived.

III. The Music

Thus far, this chapter has been concerned with how indigenous society and culture was understood, and the characteristics attributed to the indigenous peoples. As we have seen, music was not systematically studied or documented so this has required looking at the ways in which the representation of music influenced (and determined) how it was heard. Here, I have examined the factors and knowledge extraneous to the music itself, because these were the primary filters through which music was heard. In this final section, I am interested in the vocabulary that was used to describe the elements of music – melody, harmony, and timbre. I look at the instances where descriptions of music gave details of these elements to see how music in and of itself was represented and understood. This will show the extent to which the ideas outlined so far in this chapter supported understandings of indigenous music.

¹²⁴ E.E. Napier, *Excursions*, p. 104.

¹²⁵ And here we see several similarities with Charles Bunbury's, *Journal*, where the Xhosa were described as 'athletic figures' (p.151), their speech was free from 'savage gobbling' (p. 157), and the 'Hottentots' compared to the Chinese (p. 164).

The method of ‘recording’ music was by writing descriptions of melodies, instruments, and harmony. Following Lisa Gitelman, I view inscription as the technology by which music and sound was recorded and transmitted in the era before the invention of sound recording machines.¹²⁶ As we shall see the method of representing and describing these aspects of music (as well features such as timbre and instrumentation) fuelled perceptions as to how the music ought to sound. In the mid-nineteenth century the only means to capture and record melody was to use descriptive vocabulary as no ethnographic system existed for the study of non-European music.¹²⁷ Therefore, to a lesser or greater degree, indigenous music was judged according to the norms familiar to commentators. This was not the same for all parts of the world where there had been contact between colonial settlers and indigenous societies. In the late 1700s, British settlers in India had made transcriptions and produced anthologies of traditional Indian melodies. The evidence suggests that there was a wide-ranging interest in traditional Indian music.¹²⁸ Nicholas Cook has discussed the widespread practice in Anglo-Indian society of creating music to be performed in settler homes using Indian music.¹²⁹

Broadly speaking, the commentators presented their descriptions of music making in a scientific way by following three shared conventions in their descriptions. First, indigenous musicians were kept anonymous as names were never given to performers. Thus, we find that performers were generally only identified as groups, usually divided according to gender. For example, John Campbell wrote that a dance involved separate groups of men and women while ‘they bawl in a disgusting manner’.¹³⁰ Second, examples of music making were presented in terms which were generic or essentialised, without any specific detail. An

¹²⁶ Lisa Gitelman, *Scripts, grooves, and writing machines: representing technology in the Edison era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 15 has termed this ‘legible representations of aural experience.’

¹²⁷ Alexander Ellis’ 1885 work ‘On the Musical Scales of Various Nations’, *The Journal of the Society of Arts*, 33 (1885), 485-527 is generally regarded as marking the study of musical scales not as acoustic givens, or absolutes, but as being organised according to human preference. For a discussion, see Jonathan P.J. Stock, ‘Alexander Ellis and His Place in the History of Ethnomusicology’, *Ethnomusicology*, 51:2 (2007), 306-25.

¹²⁸ See Raymond Head, ‘Corelli in Calcutta: Colonial Music-Making in India during the 17th and 18th Centuries’, *Early Music*, 13:4 (1985), 548-53 (p.552).

¹²⁹ Nicholas Cook, ‘Encountering the Other, redefining the self: Hindostannie Airs, Haydn’s folksong settings and the “Common Practice” style’, in *Music and orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s-1940s*, ed. by Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 13-39 (pp. 14-26).

¹³⁰ Campbell, *Travels*, p. 518.

example of this is found in Andrew Steedman's *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (1835). Steedman identified one musician as 'a herald' but was not much impressed by the manner nor timing of the singing: 'at sunrise we were awaked by a shrill singing, which proceeded from a sort of herald, who went to every hut.'¹³¹ Finally, as only a negligible number of the commentators were musically trained, the descriptions are presented in non-technical language which limited the accurate descriptions of the features of a musical performance.

Melody

Almost all commentators mentioned hearing melody, either sung or played on instruments. This was, however, the most perplexing musical element for most Europeans as it did not follow the structural patterns of the intervals in diatonic European scales. In the most extreme cases, declared indigenous music as devoid of melody. Henry Lichtenstein, who worked at the Cape as a physicians and explored the region between 1802 and 1806, for example, declared, 'Melodies, properly speaking, are never to be heard; it is only a change of the same tones, long protracted, the principal tone being struck before every one.'¹³²

Commentators did not, generally, transcribe melodies into staff notation so this meant that they had to resort to descriptive language using adjectives to characterise melody, although there were exceptions such as Bleek and Lichtenstein. Commentators also did not possess linguistic knowledge sufficient to grasp and understand the meaning of any lyrics that may have been sung to a melody. This limited the ability to appreciate the levels of meaning generated by the interaction of text and melody.

Descriptions of melodies

The number of adjectives used to describe melodies was limited. The most commonly used word was 'monotonous'. For instance, in Cowper Rose's description of a dance he witnessed, he described the melody as a 'strange monotonous air'.¹³³ The air, or melody, was only one component of the scene which also included dance moves which Rose described as 'violent exertion' or 'strange contortion'. It is difficult to judge whether he was repelled by the scene, or intrigued, but he felt incapable of providing an adequate description: 'To understand the dance, you should have seen it; no description, no drawing, can give you an

¹³¹ Steedman, *Wanderings*, p. 266.

¹³² Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa, in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, trans. Anne Plumptre, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), II, p. 233.

¹³³ Rose, *Four years*, pp. 85.

idea.¹³⁴ There are other examples of the use of the word: both Anders Sparmann ('singing all the while in a dull monotonous manner'), and Robert Gray ('chanting in a low monotonous tone') used. Its longevity and the extent to which it was entrenched in the psyche of Europeans commentators as a word used to describe the melodies of indigenous music is shown in George McCall Theal's *The Portuguese in South Africa* (1896) where Theal included a description of a woman 'humming a monotonous tune'.¹³⁵ The word was also used to describe the other types of music. For instance, Lichtenstein described the music played on the '*t Gorrah* (an instrument) as producing 'monotonous sound'. This was not used in the pejorative sense as he 'was never disturbed by it': it was, simply, to his ear, without any variation.¹³⁶ Alberti applied the word to the movements of indigenous dancing.¹³⁷ As the practice of using this word is evident across several texts it shows that such perceptions came to be perpetuated and reinforced. Anyone heading to the Cape who had engaged with this discourse would have associated indigenous melody with monotony.

'Monotonous' did not necessarily mean the same as monotony, but could have suggested that the melody was cyclical and repeated, or based on riffs using a small number of notes. Melodies in European musical systems tend to move towards a cadential point and are therefore linear rather than cyclical in their construction, and this absence of a familiar structure would have perplexed commentators. Modality might also have been a factor that influenced the use of this particular word. For instance, 'melancholy' might have been inferring melodies based on minor modes, while 'strange' might have denoted a modality wholly unfamiliar to Western ears. It is important to remember that commentators were responding to a musical system that was outside their own culture and therefore could only respond with the linguistic conventions that they knew.

Lyrics and general aesthetics

The second difficulty in articulating a description of melody was the result of a lack of linguistic knowledge. Most commentators did not spend an amount of time in indigenous societies sufficient to learn the languages they encountered,¹³⁸ By not understanding what

¹³⁴ Rose, *Four years*, p. 85.

¹³⁵ Sparmann, *A Voyage*, p. 355; Gray, *A journal* (1850), p. 66; George McCall Theal, *The Portuguese in South Africa: with a description of the native races between the River Zambesi and the Cape of Good Hope during the sixteenth century* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1896), p. 60

¹³⁶ Lichtenstein, *Travels*, II, p. 232.

¹³⁷ Alberti, *An Account*, p. 79.

¹³⁸ isiXhosa, for example, only began to appear in print from the 1820s onwards.

was sung, it would have been difficult to understand how melody and text interacted. Commentators would also only treat text on a literal level rather than viewing the whole performance as an act of meaning. In other words, it could only be present if there were words and verbalisations, rather than treating the whole musical act as a text.¹³⁹ This being the case, commentators treated the elements of a musical act as independent of each other and were not aware that meaning was being conveyed by other gestures such as dancing and clapping.

When commentators noted hearing lyrics, they only provided approximations of what they heard. These representations did not, in general, provide any detail about the poetic content of the words, and were at times referred to, or at others phonetically transcribed. In the case of the latter, the presence of lyrics was implied by a verb. Robert Gray and Cowper Rose, for instance did not perceive what they heard was singing, but rather ‘shouting’, which would imply that they had heard a text being vocalised.¹⁴⁰ At the most extreme, there was not any attribution of a poetic level of meaning in the lyrics of a melody. John Campbell, for example, declared that the Xhosa have ‘no songs’ and therefore no equivalent form of the lyrical expression found in European culture, but that they did sing about things.¹⁴¹ He was either informed, or understood, the content of some lyrics, but only on a literal level: he noted that the Xhosa sang about ‘friends, rivers, or places.’ Transcriptions of lyrics were sometimes provided, but these were by and large nonsensical phonetic approximations of what commentators heard. The anonymous author of an article in the Royal Geographical Society’s *Journal* provided the following explanation of what he heard being sung: ‘They sometimes assemble together in a hut, and amuse themselves the greater part of the night by singing: their song, however, if song it can be called, only consist of a monotonous and unmeaning repetition of ‘Yo, yo, yo,’ or ‘Jei, jei, jei.’¹⁴² Such a phonetic rendering was what Anders Sparmann provided in a transcription of the lyrics he heard: ‘Maijema, Maijema, bub, bub, bub’ was the approximate the sound of the lyrics that he heard but he provided no translation or explanation of the meaning of the text.¹⁴³ The only meaning that descriptions

¹³⁹ See Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music*, pp. 97-8 for a discussion of performance as text.

¹⁴⁰ Gray, *A journal* (1850), p. 57; Rose, *Four Years*, p. 141. Charles Richardson, *A new dictionary of the English language* (London: William Pickering, 1844) defined ‘shout’ as exerting or exalting the voice so that the ‘sound [is] thrown forth from the mouth.’

¹⁴¹ Campbell, *Travels*, p. 519.

¹⁴² *Royal Geographical Society Journal*, 5 (1835), p. 350.

¹⁴³ Sparmann, *A voyage*, pp. 28-9.

such as these provided was that there was no meaning in the texts that were sung illustrating that commentators were often insufficiently equipped with the linguistic skills to provide accurate transcriptions of lyrics that might enhance the appreciation of a melody and vice versa.¹⁴⁴

Aesthetic judgments of indigenous melodies also varied. Sparmann found that the melodies he heard did not ‘satisfy a nice ear’ but he also wrote that the singing was ‘by no means disagreeable’ and ‘inspired a certain degree of cheerfulness.’¹⁴⁵ Another description of Sparmann’s described a melody as ‘staccato’ and ‘piano’. Here, Sparrman used familiar musical language to describe a feature of the music that was identifiable. One of Lichtenstein’s assessments was categorically dismissive: Xhosa melodies ‘were insufferable to a musical ear and their song little better than a deadened howl’.¹⁴⁶ Responses to melodies varied from commentator to commentator. Descriptions could reflect anything from fascination, to intrigue, to bemusement. Cowper Rose described a song he heard being sung as ‘soft and pleasing’.¹⁴⁷ Rose was perhaps also intrigued by the subject of the song which he deduced to be about the stars because the singer kept raising his arm towards the night sky. At a mission station he visited, he noted of the singing he heard that the Xhosa ‘possess a very quick and accurate ear for music’ and that the hymns they learn are sung ‘sweetly’.¹⁴⁸

Commentators, then, could be impressed and complimentary about the melodies they heard, and often these were conditioned by the circumstances and the individual performers. For the most part, however, they often found melodic construction and grammar foreign and contrary to what they were familiar with, and, unable to account for this difference. For the most part, technical musical knowledge was not deployed, and so they resorted to descriptions such as ‘monotonous’ or ‘strange’, words, which because they were used across many different texts, came to fix perceptions of indigenous melody.

Harmony and Tonality

Descriptions of harmony occurred in several accounts, but not in any great detail. Harmony implies concord between different parts, and this was a meaning that was

¹⁴⁴ Jeff Opland has discussed in detail the tradition of isiXhosa poetry in the mid nineteenth century. See especially Chapter 2 in Jeff Opland, *Xhosa oral poetry: aspects of a black South African tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹⁴⁵ Sparrman, *A Voyage*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ Lichtenstein, *Travels*, I, p. 280.

¹⁴⁷ Rose, *Four Years*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁸ Rose, *Four Years*, p. 103.

sometimes carried over into descriptions of music.¹⁴⁹ Mostly, the word was used to contrast harmonic music consisting of two or more voices (from voices or instrument, or a combination of both) from monotone music that was monophonic (music consisting of a single line of music). John Campbell noted hearing Xhosa women singing in harmony while playing a gourd instrument.¹⁵⁰ Here, Campbell provided a simple description of two lines of music which produced what he could term as harmony.

A fuller description of harmony can be found in the accounts of Alberti and Lichtenstein. To a different degree both authors identified the harmonic sequence as the basis of indigenous musical harmony. Alberti likened the sound of a stringed instrument he heard to the *Waldhoorn* or hunting horn.¹⁵¹ The hunting horn, a type of natural horn, could only produce notes from the harmonic series and play in one key. Lichtenstein's explanation was fuller and confirms in more detail Alberti's observation. Example 2.1 shows the notes that Lichtenstein heard used on *'t Gorrah*, a stringed instrument discussed in the next section.¹⁵² There were five notes, identifiable as the tonic, mediant, dominant, and submediant of the scale, although tuned differently 'the intervals be not the same as our's [*sic.*]'. Both the melody and the accompanying harmony, whether the sung or played on other instruments, were based on this series. For Lichtenstein, the tuning was different, but this constituted harmony nonetheless, because what he heard was, in his opinion, 'in a proportion perfectly regular and intelligible, as well as pleasing to the ear.'¹⁵³ This harmonic system formed the basis for all indigenous music that he heard, for he noted that 'the intervals [...] do not properly belong to the instrument: they are [...] the sung music of the African savages.'¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ See the definition in Charles Richardson, *A new dictionary of the English language* (London: William Pickering, 1844).

¹⁵⁰ Campbell, *Travels*, p. 519. Kirby identified the instrument Campbell observed as 'ugwali', a type of *gora* adopted by amaXhosa from the KhoiKhoi. See his *Musical instruments* (1934), p. 183 for his description.

¹⁵¹ Lodewyk Alberti, *De Kaffers aan de Zuidkust van Afrika, natuur en Geschiedkundig beschreven voor Lodewyk Alberti* (Amsterdam: E. Maaskamp, 1810), p. 166.

¹⁵² My translation. The English translation version of 1815 translated the terms 'grosser terz' etc as the great third, which in fact refers a major third.

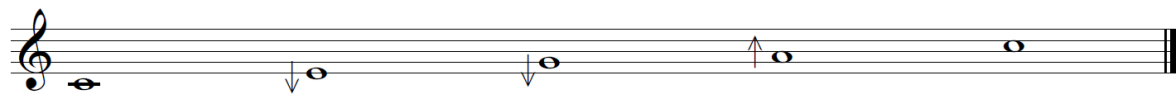
¹⁵³ Lichtenstein, *Travels*, II, p. 233.

¹⁵⁴ My translation. Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806* (Berlin: Bei C. Salfeld, 1812), p. 380: 'Es verdient bermerkt zu werden, dass diese Intervalle nicht dem Instrument eigenthümlich sind, sondern jeder, auch der Gesangmusik der africanischen Wilden.'

Example 2.1 Henry Lichtenstein's description of the sound produced by 't Gorrah, with a representation on staff notation. (The staff notation rendition is my own rendition of Lichtenstein's prose description).

Zwischen dem Grundton und der Octave nemlich liegen nur drei Intervalle, deren erstes um wenig tiefer ist als unsre große Terze; das zweite liegt in der Mitte zwischen der kleinen und großen Quinte; das dritte zwischen großer Sexte und kleinen Septime, so daß man Anfangs im kleinsten Septimenaccord modulieren zu hören glaubt.

Between the tonic and the octave lie only three intervals of which the first is at least somewhat lower than our major third; the second lies in the middle, between the diminished and perfect fifth; and the third between the major sixth and minor seventh; so that a person might imagine he hears the modulation first from the minor seventh chord.



Source: Lichtenstein, *Reisen*, II, p. 380.

What is noteworthy about Lichtenstein's account is the attempt to bring the harmonic system of indigenous music into the intellectual frameworks of his own musical system. As can be seen from the example, the effect of the notes being sounded were similar to a diminished seventh chord, or even a dominant seventh, depending on how the tuning varied from instrument to instrument, but never resolved in the way that he was perhaps expecting it to.¹⁵⁵ The harmony, to Lichtenstein, was 'not the same as our's': it contained many elements that were familiar but rather demonstrated an indigenous knowledge of the relationships between different musical notes. He was, however, puzzled by the intonation, and the limited gamut of notes. At the time these commentators wrote their descriptions, there were no standardised methods of tuning or constructing these instruments. Lichtenstein, like all the commentators examined in this chapter, came from an intellectual culture in which the world was thought of as conforming to a fixed set of rules, and they looked for patterns in indigenous culture that resembled their own.¹⁵⁶ The conventions of harmony and the ratios governing the harmonic sequence were part of this system. Paradoxically, these similarities

¹⁵⁵ Kirby explains that what Lichtenstein heard departed from the intonation to which he was used because tuning varies from instrument to instrument depending on the tension and thickness of the string. Percival Kirby, *Musical instruments of the indigenous people of South Africa: third edition of the musical instruments of the native races of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013), pp. 237 & 255. This edition is an unchanged version of Kirby's 1934 text and I quote from it for convenience's sake.

¹⁵⁶ Anthony Pagden, *European encounters with the New World: from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 10.

were also a marker of difference as the intervals heard were discernible but not in the same way as those familiar to an ear trained in the musical styles of diatonic tonality prevalent in Europe at the time.

The observations of both Alberti and Lichtenstein confirm that there was an established harmonic system in indigenous music making. The precise principles of this system are difficult to establish because of the lack of concrete description and accurate transcriptions. What these descriptions do tell us, however, is that the melodic and harmonic structure of indigenous music making was cyclical, and consisted of short riffs which were repeated and embellished upon. Such a system of music in which there was no aural progression towards a cadential point would have been unintelligible to commentators who were used to conventional European tonality. As with other aspects of music making, the purpose of discussing harmony and tonality was not to provide a definitive account of indigenous music making but to highlight and show the ‘otherness’ of what they heard.

With harmony and melody, there was a simultaneous presence of familiarity/unfamiliarity in the audible.¹⁵⁷ Musical familiarity/unfamiliarity, seen in an example such as the harmonic shows how the views of commentators were on a spectrum ranging from indifference and dismissal, to partially discerning musical features. This points towards the disruptive nature of indigenous music making in the sense that while it could be explained using the technical language of Western music theory, it did not fully conform to the sound produced by European music.¹⁵⁸

Musical Instruments (Timbre)

While certain aspects of indigenous music making were presented, and came to be viewed, as fixed, the musical soundscape of the Cape found across the writings of commentators was not homogenous. The distinction commentators drew between the music making of European and indigenous communities does not necessarily imply two distinct musical cultures operating

¹⁵⁷ Such ambivalence, or double vision found in descriptions which represent African phenomena as at once familiar and unfamiliar, civil and savage was not exceptional to melody, or any other feature of music, but had been an established part of representations of Africa. See Emily C. Bartels ‘Imperialist beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the construction of Africa’ *Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* (Fall 1992: no. 4), pp. 517-38.

¹⁵⁸ Tomlinson, *Singing in the New World*, p. 196.

separately from each other.¹⁵⁹ Rather, there were multiple musical cultures which existed in contrast to one another. This was most strongly evident in commentators' accounts of musical instruments of indigenous and European origin. Musical instruments were a means of musical expression common to all the cultures found at the Cape before 1855. When they attracted interest and attention, commentators recorded details about their construction, the people playing them, and the occasions on which they were played. Given the broad range of instruments observed across the various cultural groups, they were an essential feature of ethnographic mapping and plotting cultural difference.

European Instruments

The testimony of commentators would suggest that by 1855, European instruments were found across the Cape. As already noted, some of these types of instruments had been adopted and adapted by indigenous groups. Cowper Rose mentioned that there were piano tuners in Grahamstown to service the needs of the growing settler population in the city and the region surrounding it.¹⁶⁰ Rose also recalled being at an unknown Landdrost's house where he heard a lady playing a 'simple air' on the piano.¹⁶¹ Latrobe's commentary included references to forms of music making that used organs, flutes, and violins, although these instruments were usually found in use on mission to settler communities. Lichtenstein noted that he observed a violin and clarinet accompanying missionary psalm singing on a Moravian mission to a settler community.¹⁶² Musical instruments of European origin were not solely restricted to settler communities. There was evidence to suggest that indigenous musicians had begun to incorporate European instruments into their music making, with the result that hybrid musical styles had already developed by the mid-nineteenth century. Robert Gray's comments (actually a complaint about the noise that was made one night) were suggestive of such processes: 'Neither of us had much rest that night. There was a party of coloured people who spent most of the night in playing the fiddle and dancing.'¹⁶³ The introduction and adoption of European music and musical instruments was seen largely as evidence of civilising: exposure to European musical instruments often came from missionaries.

¹⁵⁹ For a consideration of 'joint colonial culture' through an analysis of the activities of nineteenth century collectors of African and New Guinean art, see Chris Gosden and Chantal Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism: material culture and colonial change* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), chapter 3, esp. pp. 49-50.

¹⁶⁰ Cowper Rose, *Four Years*, p. 46.

¹⁶¹ Cowper Rose, *Four Years*, p. 92. 'Landdrost' was the Dutch word for a magistrate.

¹⁶² Lichtenstein, *Travels*, I, p. 245.

¹⁶³ Robert Gray, *A journal*, (1850), p. 35.

Lichtenstein observed at one mission two missionaries playing a violin and clarinet each to accompany the hymn singing.¹⁶⁴ In different communities and at different times, instruments served a range of practical functions, and therefore their significance also varied.

Indigenous musical instruments

The most common type of musical instrument observed were chordophones, or stringed instruments, of various constructions and techniques of playing. These types of instruments had been observed and described by commentators since the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁵ Table 2.2 shows the kind of detail commentators provided about these types of instruments, as well as the descriptions of the techniques of construction they observed.¹⁶⁶ As we can see from the four accounts presented here, commentators only saw a limited number of instruments being used amongst indigenous groups. These descriptions, as Siegfried Huigen has observed of pictorial representations, were concerned with collective rather than individual characteristics.¹⁶⁷ Thus descriptions were kept broad, general, and generic.

It should be noted, further, that while commentators noted, at most, two instruments, the descriptions about the circumstances when these instruments were being played varied. For instance, Campbell observed only women playing instruments, while Lichtenstein wrote that he only seldom saw and heard such instruments they were played by ‘shepherds and herdsmen.’¹⁶⁸ Likewise, some commentators (Barrow, for example) included only one description in his narrative. As a result of this, it is difficult from these accounts to quantify or get a sense of the actual ubiquity of musical instruments. In addition, the rhetorical functions of these instruments were not commented upon. Each description was presented in an abstract setting, with very little information about the aesthetic or rhetorical functions and effects of the sounds produced by these instruments, let alone the physical setting itself, such as whether they were heard being played outdoors, or in homesteads. John Campbell, for instance, only wrote that he saw women playing the instruments, but not what they were doing while playing the instrument, nor where they were, nor whether or not people were

¹⁶⁴ Lichtenstein, *Travels*, p. 245.

¹⁶⁵ Percival Kirby, *Musical instruments (third edition)*, pp. 234-55 traces in more detail the instances when such instruments were observed by commentators and examines the descriptions they provided.

¹⁶⁶ Kirby, *Musical instruments (third edition)*, pp. 245-55, traces in more detail the instances when such instruments were observed and described by commentators, and examines the descriptions they provided.

¹⁶⁷ Huigen, *Knowledge and colonialism*, p. 111.

¹⁶⁸ Lichtenstein, *Travels*, II, p. 232.

listening. Nonetheless, what these descriptions do provide is information about the materials used for construction. Here the use of natural materials – wood, catgut, quills – is particularly evident. This was presented as further evidence of the simplicity of indigenous music making, but it also highlights commentators' own ignorance as they often resorted to comparisons with what they know. Hence, instruments were described as a 'kind of guittar' or resembled a violin, but were not quite the same as these familiar European instruments.¹⁶⁹ This, for the reader, emphasised difference, but is also indicative of the difficulty commentators had in understanding indigenous musical techniques.

Such descriptions, however thin, are a reminder that music making was an indicator to missionaries of the cultural distance that lay between Europeans and the Cape's indigenous inhabitants, or, at least, a distance that needed to be created, and one that was perpetuated in information which circulated in Britain. It should be remembered that European commentators lacked expert insider knowledge of indigenous musical cultures. In certain cases, cultural sensitivity, or a desire to learn more about these cultures, was lacking. Given these deficiencies in both method and attitude, they would not have been able to fully grasp the subtleties and nuances which lay embedded within indigenous music-making. The meanings were rooted within a society of which they were not a part and could never be a part, especially as their observations of such instruments were from a distant – either literal, or physical, or mental – or fleeting, as they spent only a short time observing music making.

¹⁶⁹ For example, Barrow, *An Account*, p. 148.

Table 2.2 Descriptions of chordophone instruments from a selection of commentators			
Commentator	Number of instruments observed	Physical Description (and page number)	Method of sound production
John Barrow, <i>An Account</i>	2	<p>‘Gabowie’: ‘[...] a kind of guitar with three strings stretched over a hollow piece of wood with a long handle.’</p> <p>‘Gowra’: ‘[...] a piece of sinew or intestine twisted into a small cord, and fastened to a hollow stick about three feet in length, at one end to a small peg, by turning, brings the string to the proper degree of tension, and at the other to a piece of quill fixed into the stick.’</p> <p>pp. 148-9</p>	<p>[no description]</p> <p>‘The tunes of this instrument are produced by applying the mouth to the quill, and are varied according as the vibrating motion is given to the quill and string by inspiration and aspiration.’</p>
Ludwig Alberti, <i>Account of the Xhosa</i>	1	<p>[no name]: [...] a thin stick with a string of catgut drawn over it, which thus resembled the bow of a violin of unskilled manufacture, at one end of which half a deft quill was attached to the catgut.</p> <p>pp. 165-6</p>	<p>‘The quill is held in front of the locked teeth, and by breathing in and out fairly vigorously, sounds are produced which a similar to a so-called hunting horn.’</p>
John Campbell, <i>Travels in South Africa</i>	2	<p>[no name]: ‘[...] a bow with a piece of quill fixed near one end of the string.’</p> <p>[no name] ‘[...] a calabash hung to a bow string.]</p> <p>pp. 518-9</p>	<p>‘[...] they blow [on the string], which makes an agreeable sound.’</p> <p>‘[...] they [women] beat, and sing in harmony with the beating.’</p>

Henry Lichtenstein, <i>Travels in South Africa</i>	1	<p>“t Gorrah’: ‘staff of hard wood somewhat curved, over which is stretched a long catgut string: at the lower end a quill is fastened to it, with a horse hair.’</p> <p>p. 232.</p>	<p>‘The person who plays takes the quill in his mouth, and by blowing stronger or weaker, occasions a vibration of the catgut [...] commonly played lying down’</p>
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Other types of instrument

Apart from chordophone instruments, commentators also observed aerophone instruments albeit infrequently. These tended to be represented as functional rather than aesthetic in Xhosa society. For example, Campbell documented that he saw an instrument that resembled a flute, and claimed it was being used to summon people to meetings.¹⁷⁰ Similar functional uses were overlaid on a whistle made of bone that Barrow said was used by herdsmen ‘for giving order to their cattle.’¹⁷¹ Commentators picked up, as we have seen, on the significance of cattle to the Xhosa. Robert Gray, the first bishop of Capetown who founded the Anglican mission to the Xhosa wrote in his *Journal* that cattle and oxen were the basis of Xhosa religion.¹⁷² This understanding would explain Charles Bunbury’s view that the whistling was ‘some sort of magic’ which the Xhosa cast over their cattle.¹⁷³ The view that this instrument’s function was associated with cattle was also evident in William Paterson’s commentary on the Cape:

When they [the Xhosa] wish their cattle to return home, they go a little way from the house and blow this small instrument, which is made of ivory or bone, and so constructed as to be heard at a great distance, and in this manner bring all their cattle home without any difficulty.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Campbell, *Travels*, p. 519.

¹⁷¹ Barrow, *An Account*, p. 170.

¹⁷² Robert Gray, *A journal of the Bishop's visitation tour through The Cape Colony, in 1848, with an account of his visit to the Island of St. Helena, in 1849, and a map* (London: SPG, 1849), p. 28.

¹⁷³ Bunbury, *Journal*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁴ William Paterson, *A Narrative*, p. 94.

The functional purposes attributed to what were classed as musical instruments was reinforced by the crudeness of their construction. While commentators may have observed similar things, the discrepancies between their descriptions might suggest a greater variety of musical instruments and variance of musical practice between different indigenous communities. None of the commentators provided a location for where they saw the instruments. Instead it was consistently said that only three instruments existed among the Xhosa, for example (modern scholarship has identified eleven).¹⁷⁵ There was also a consistent view that instruments were crude, and lacked aesthetic value, but were more functional “tools”. Of course these sorts of views cannot be taken as a reflection of reality as they form part of a set of representations which prevailed about music and culture in writings about other parts of Africa. Kofi Agawu has presented evidence which demonstrates that African music, writ large, was not only composed to accompany dance and to fulfil functional tasks but was also listened to.¹⁷⁶ While there are no similar suggestions in the writings examined here, we cannot limit ourselves to commentators’ understandings of the purposes and functions of indigenous music making, but rather see them as one possible interpretation of many.

In summary, indigenous music within these commentators’ narratives functioned mainly to confirm the conclusions that were drawn about the indigenous peoples more generally: their musical culture when compared to that of Europe was at best incomprehensible, at worst unsophisticated. The ideas about indigenous music making into which missionaries came to be socialised served to reinforce their attitudes towards Xhosa society. Music was a means by which the society was understood, and it reinforced specific notions and understandings. The reasons were complex and as much about perception as they were about background and upbringing. The type of listening that was going on was not presented as being for the purposes of aesthetic pleasure, but rather for establishing facts and theories about the Xhosa and the other indigenous people of the region.¹⁷⁷

Conclusion

This chapter set out to trace the bases for missionary attitudes towards indigenous music making with the aim of showing how indigenous musical culture challenged and disrupted

¹⁷⁵ Kirby, *Musical Instruments (third edition)*, p. 259.

¹⁷⁶ Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Cook, *Music, imagination*, p. 152.

missionary musical frameworks. From the writings which have been examined, it is clear, that by the mid-nineteenth century, pejorative, negative, and derogatory attitudes had been firmly established in European thought, and this was the knowledge which was applied in responding to the aural experience of indigenous music. Missionary attitudes were not, as we have seen above, gained through direct aural encounters, but rather through exposure to and immersion in the established conventions of how a particular musical culture was represented. Therefore, it is no surprise that attitudes such as Greenstock's were prevalent amongst missionaries arriving in the Cape Colony from Britain.

Commentators often listened from a distance which was both literal and figurative. Missionaries' literal listening distance involved a mode of engagement which was passive, and often self-professed as scientific, objective, and without any practical engagement in performance. None of the commentators surveyed in this chapter participated in musical performances or learnt the techniques of indigenous music making. At each performance they observed as outsiders. Furthermore, like missionaries, they often found themselves living separately from indigenous communities, and thus listened to music from afar. This separation was physical as much as it was cultural, for they did not have the empathy or understanding of music's significance in indigenous society.

Many commentators were certainly interested in portraying the Cape and its peoples as 'uninhabited, unpossessed, unhistorized'.¹⁷⁸ The analysis of the themes used to represent the Cape and its peoples, show that indigenous music provoked a complex set of responses ranging from fear, to disapproval, to disgust, to admiration, to appreciation, or a combination of any number of these. In almost all cases, it is evident that music was a source of fascination that led to heightened commentators' awareness of difference, and, at the most extreme, defectiveness in what they heard. The deficiencies were not assessed on musical skill, but were rather aesthetic as much as they were substantive and religious. Very often these dismissive attitudes were based largely on ignorance of the significance of indigenous culture and religion, and also an insufficient grasp of indigenous languages.

While the terms of this sonic awareness resulted in establishing a recycled discourse amongst commentators evident in the repetitive use of words such as 'monotonous', 'savage',

¹⁷⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 51. For an appraisal of Mary Louise Pratt see Leonard Guelke and Jeanne Kay Guelke, 'Imperial eyes on South Africa; reassessing travel narratives', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 11-31.

and ‘meaningless’, such characterisations nonetheless show us that commentators were aware of sounds within the empty landscapes. Furthermore, they provide us with evidence of musical cultures existing within the indigenous peoples, for behind these sketches of indigenous music making and the rhetoric of their representation there no doubt existed a much more complex musical reality. While commentators often oversimplified what they heard, this is not to say that they made things up. The instruments which they saw and described, the dancing and singing, can be assumed to have reflected an actual social and musical reality.

This chapter has highlighted the fact that we need to understand better not only how indigenous musical culture was understood by contemporaries who encountered it, but also the main features of that culture itself. What the commentators’ writings tell us is that a musical culture and musical instruments existed among amaXhosa, the main group of people among whom the Anglican missions were to be established, in the era before 1850 and this is significant because it shows that amaXhosa people introduced a musicality of their own to mission music making. Indeed, such processes had already been happening before the missionaries’ arrival as the indigenous peoples of the Cape Colony had begun adopting and adapting European instruments, styles and forms. Finally, the literature also provides evidence of borrowing and contact between amaXhosa and other indigenous groups suggesting that missionaries could not avoid indigenous musicality.

These are significant points for this thesis because indigenous involvement was crucial to the musical life of the Anglican-Xhosa missions. The development of hybrid styles before Anglican missionaries began their work shows that the matter of music and Anglican-Xhosa mission was not one of imposition, but rather a sort of negotiation. If anything, the evidence of hybrid musical styles highlights the importance of indigenous agency in mission music making. Missionaries, like commentators, were, if anything, displaying a deep uncertainty in their responses to indigenous music making. One thing which may well have disquieted them was the knowledge that their musical forms would come to be influenced by the ways in which indigenous people went about making music. And this disquiet points out to us the need to be aware of the complex ways in which the music represents how European missionaries and indigenous societies came into contact.

The musical meeting which I am tracing in this thesis was as much about missionaries introducing their music to the setting of the Eastern Cape, as it was about amaXhosa and the

other indigenous peoples of the region introducing their music to missionaries. While an aim of the thesis at large is to trace the musical antecedents of the 2008 singing at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek back to the establishment of the Anglican-Xhosa missions 150 years prior, I have shown here that the meeting of indigenous and British or European musical cultures began much earlier, and took place through direct musical exposure, which was filtered pre-conceived ideological notions of what indigenous music should sound like. Furthermore, this chapter has opened up the ambivalence that existed in missionaries' attitude to indigenous musical ability. On the one hand, music was a means to articulate difference while on the other missionaries could not introduce their music without indigenous music makers and the musicality which characterised indigenous musical cultures. This highlights for us one of the complexities in the development of an Anglican-Xhosa sound. Missionaries arrived armed with their attitudes about indigenous music making and intended to replace or reform it. What they were in actual fact doing was opening up their music to a pre-existing and well-established indigenous musicality. I now to turn to look in more detail at how this came to be built into the musical styles and forms that missionaries introduced.

CHAPTER 3 – ‘The Glorious Sound Floated on the Breeze’: Making a Mission Soundscape

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the soundscape of the mission field, and the significance that it had for the people of mission by exploring how missionaries attempted to establish an audible presence in the mission field. I chart the different sounds, for the most part musical, that people heard, the transformations led by missionaries that were taking place in what they were hearing, and the different ways in which certain sounds were heard. I ask what constructing a mission soundscape entailed and why this task was an important one for missionaries. In Chapter 1 we examined the musical forms and styles to which British missionaries were exposed in their training and formation. The mission field of the Cape to which they went, as was shown in Chapter 2, consisted of many musical cultures, competing sounds and audible elements. I now begin to look at how this would come to interact with each other by examining the ways in which sounds functioned in mission. This will provide a fuller comprehension of the sonic changes impact British missionaries had, and the implication these had for how sound was interpreted, reinterpreted and understood.¹

The Mission Field and the Soundscape

The study of a soundscape, broadly speaking, involves a consideration of the relationship between sound (musical and otherwise), people, and the particular environment in which these co-exist.² R. Murray Schafer pioneered the study of soundscapes by drawing

¹‘Soundscape’ I use as a noun as well as a verb to emphasise that this was an active process, as well as something that was constructed. Cf. Daniel Speich and W.J. Mitchell use of the ‘landscape’ as a verb: ‘Landscape is not something given, but something in the making, a “process by which social and subjective identities are formed.” In Daniel Speich, ‘Mountains Made in Switzerland: Facts and Concerns in Nineteenth-Century Cartography’ in *Science in Context*, 22:3 (2009), 387-408 (p. 388). See also W.J. Mitchell, *Landscape and power* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994). On representations of colonial landscapes, see John McAleer, *Representing Africa: landscape exploration and empire in southern Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

² On ‘Soundscape Theory’ more broadly, see R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: our sonic environment and the tuning of the world* (Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books, 1994); also Megan E. Hill, ‘Soundscape’, *Grove Music Online*

attention to the relationship between the people and sounds in a specific environment. Schafer argues that people's behaviour and perceptions were affected in a variety of ways by the sounds that surrounded them. Like a landscape, which is characterised by landmarks, a soundscape is characterised by its soundmarks, which are significant for two reasons. In the first place, soundmarks are particular to a place, and identifying them helps to provide a sonic profile of a particular area. In the second place, a soundmark is a sound that has significance for a community, and on that basis is used by the community to define itself.³

Soundmarks and landmarks can be seen in Figure 3.1, a sketch by Henry Waters, drawn in 1859 and sent to the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, who had initiated the project of missions to the Xhosa. Waters' intention in making this sketch and sending it to Grey was to provide 'some idea of the place, which your Excellency has so largely assisted.'⁴ The mission station itself is the most prominent, and is made up of several smaller landmarks. In the centre is the chapel, placed at the heart of the mission, both physically and spiritually. It is the most prominent of the buildings. Along with it are a collection of buildings in a European style whose size dwarfs the collection of round dwellings built in indigenous styles. The mission station is in a cleared area, but is surrounded by the wild bush behind, an as yet untamed interior on whose frontier the mission station stands. The European style buildings are reassuring 'props' in this otherwise unfamiliar environment.⁵

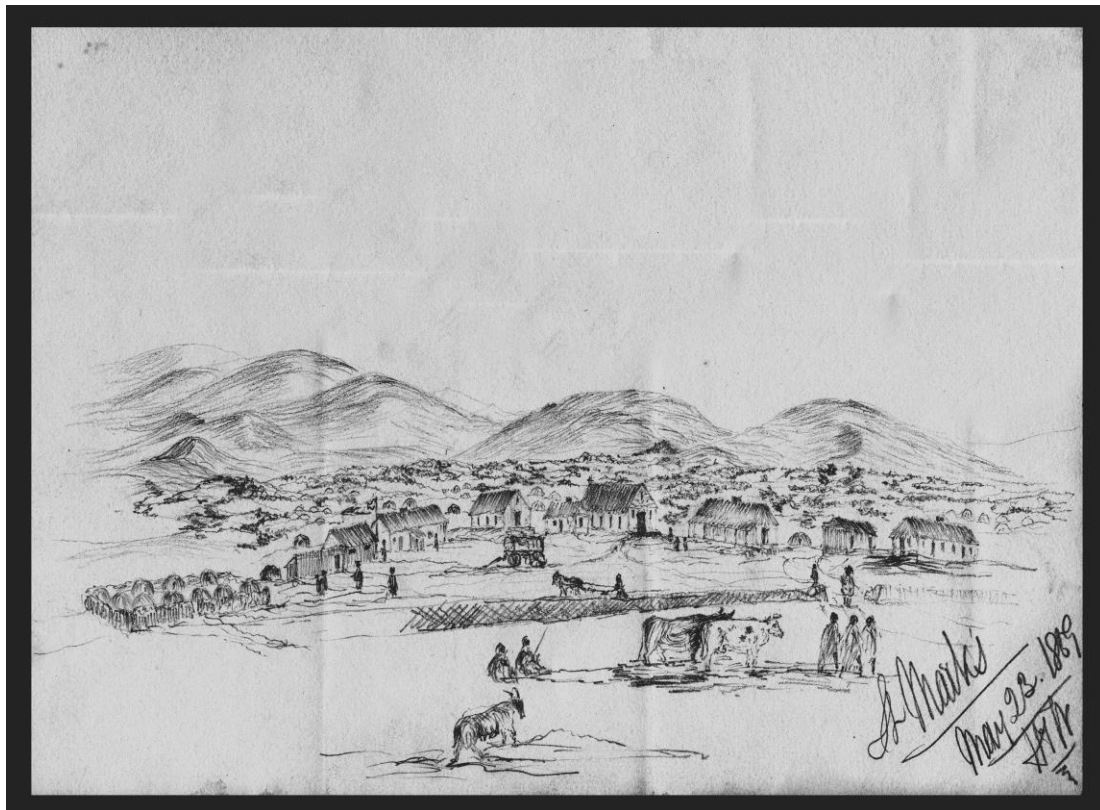
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2258182>> [accessed 17 September 2019].

³ Schafer, *The soundscape*, p. 10.

⁴ NLSA, ARB 26 (6240), 'Henry Waters: St Mark's Mission Station beyond the River Kei, 1859'. The note addressed to Grey is included with the picture.

⁵ Rodney Davenport, 'Settlement, Conquest and Theological Controversy: The churches of Nineteenth-century European Immigrants', in *Christianity in South Africa: a political, social & cultural history*, ed. by Richard Elphick & Rodney Davenport (James Currey: Oxford, 1997), pp. 51-67 (p. 51).

Figure 3.1 St Mark's Station, 1859



Source: NLSA, ARB 26 (6240)

What we must remember is that the objects and activities depicted in the picture made noises and would have been heard, and meanings would have been associated with each sound. For instance, the sound made by the fluttering flag (centre left) acted with the visual sign of who was in control of the station. The sound of the animals, the plough, and the wagon suggest industry and activity. A bell is not clearly depicted in this picture, but we know that St Mark's had one, and that it punctuated the day, summoning people and providing a sonic indication of the tasks associated with particular times of day. In the chapel, there would also have been the daily sound of voices singing the services, and, as we shall see, there was often singing outdoors. The point is that within this space, there were several soundmarks that had meanings and values assigned to them. What we see, then, in pictures such as Figure 3.1 is that there was as much sonic activity in the mission as there was visual. In the sections that follow, I shall examine how the process of forming new mission

communities involved creating a soundscape that was distinct from that of the communities that were pre-existing.⁶

I shall focus on three prominent soundmarks – instruments, bells, and processions, – chosen because they are the most frequently mentioned sounds in missionary reports. The first and third categories involve musical sounds. The sound produced by bells does not fall neatly into the category of music, but I have included it here because bells were a prominent feature of the mission soundscape and also allow us to consider the spectrum of sound from music to noise and perceptions of this differ. Bells were tuned to specific notes and produced a timbre of their own, giving them a distinctive character and quality. Bells present the opportunity to consider this further as the chapter addresses related questions such as: ‘what was considered as sound?’, or, put another way, ‘what was considered as sound by whom?’. As the chapter unfolds, we shall see that there was in fact a continuum of sounds, which was so determined based on the perception of meaning by those who were listening.

Instruments

According to mission reports, pianos, seraphines, and harmoniums were the three types of keyboard instrument found on missions.⁷ Seraphines and harmoniums were cheaper to export than organs, and were found in colonies elsewhere in the world.⁸ There is evidence that other instruments such as violins were used, but seldom, if ever, in church services. This section sketches the uses of these instruments in mission work by highlighting and exploring some of the associations their presence represented. Knowing more about why instruments were

⁶ David Gramit has explored how similar processes were evident in the urban setting of Edmonton, Canada. See David Gramit, ‘What Does a City Sound like? The Musical Dynamics of a Colonial Settler City’, in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 11 (2014), pp. 273-290.

⁷ Seraphines and harmoniums were keyboard instruments whose sound was produced by vibrating reeds, activated by air pressure created from a pedal pump. Though distinguishable from each other, ‘harmonium’ was often used as a generic term to refer to any reed resonating keyboard instrument as manufacturers often created their own name for the instruments they made. Robert F. Gellerman, *The American Organ and the Harmonium* (New York: Vestal Press, 1996), p. 32.

⁸ For an account of the use of seraphines on Norfolk Island in the 1840s see Alan Maddox, ‘On the Machinery of Moral Improvement: Music and Prison reform on the Penal Colony of Norfolk Island’, *Musicology Australia* 43:2 (2012), 185-202.

acquired, the people who played them, and the settings in which they were used will help provide a better understanding of how the soundscape was shaped.

There were varying reasons provided by missionaries for instruments being a necessary part of mission work. Their primary use was, of course, for leading congregational singing in services, but they also served other purposes. John Gordon used the instrument to teach his congregations new psalm tunes and chant and was pleased with the results. As a result of using the instrument he was able to claim, 'They sing very sweetly.'⁹ Writing one year before this in *The Gospel Missionary*, Gordon claimed that the harmonium in his chapel was an object of interest and fascination to the local people who would 'come and beg for a tune.'¹⁰ In the same article, Gordon declared that the instrument had affective qualities. He noticed that an old man who had been listening to the instrument being had started crying. While instruments were put to a variety of uses by the missions who played them, they were seen first as a means of engaging local populations, and second, of supporting the work of music education.

Where were these instruments found?

Generally, the main chapels of a mission station were equipped with some sort of keyboard instrument, usually a harmonium. There was one at St John's Bolotwa, St Matthew's Keiskammahoek, St Peter's Gwatyu, and St Mark's Transkei, where they were used regularly for services. Outstations did not, as a matter of course, possess instruments, unless there was someone on the mission with an interest in playing, or who had perhaps acquired an instrument. Pianos, seraphines, and other types of instruments do not appear to have been found in religious buildings and were only used when services took place in domestic settings. For one thing, pianos were cumbersome, heavy instruments, and difficult to move and were more associated with domestic than church use. These points are illustrated in a letter written in 1875 by Frances Colenso, wife of the missionary bishop of Natal, William Colenso.¹¹ Describing the arrival of the piano, Frances wrote that they had been

⁹ USPG, E.13 (1862), f 139: John Gordon, *Report*, 31 December 1862.

¹⁰ John Gordon, 'A mission in Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary* 1st September 1861, p. 131.

¹¹ Wyn Rees, ed., *Colenso Letters from Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1958), p. 311: 'Letter', Frances Colenso to her sons, 16 February 1875. For other reasons, the Colenso family has significance for the colonial church history. William Colenso was at the centre of one of the most significant confrontations in the colonial church which resulted in a dispute that went to the Privy Council and that remains in a variety of legacies to the present day. See Peter Hinchcliff, 'Colonial Church Establishment in the Aftermath of the Colenso

waiting a while for it as it had to be transported by ox wagon. In advance of its arrival, preparations had to be made to get it into the Colensos's house: 'the idea is to bring it under the bow window and slide it in on planks.' Whether intended for domestic or church use, keyboard musical instruments were cumbersome furnishings and the logistics of acquiring them often required lengthy organisation and preparation.

Acquiring Instruments

In this section I look at some of the ways in which musical instruments came to be in the mission field.¹² Some were personal property and had been shipped in from Britain. Harmoniums were a particularly popular mission instrument, and their use was widespread across the missionary world: they were portable, robust and low on maintenance. *The Gospel Missionary* contained many references to their use in missionary music-making around the world.¹³ In some cases their export was because they were personal property and a missionary knew how to play one. Such was the case with the harmonium belonging to Robert Mullins, one of the first missionaries to work among the Xhosa. Mullins had his harmonium shipped to St Peter's Mission, Gwatyu, and he commented that the instrument was not only 'handsome' but also heavy and required two men to carry it.¹⁴ Transporting these instruments thus added to their significance as objects of value, with the process behind their arrival in the mission field becoming part of the story of their use in the mission field.

Finance and availability were the main factors which made procuring keyboard instruments a less-than-straightforward matter. Fundraising needed to be done in communities that were often spread over considerable distances. Nearby vendors also needed to be available to avoid having to import instruments as this would have added time and cost

Controversy', in *Religious change in Europe, 1650-1914: essays for John McManners*, ed. by Nigel Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 345-63.

¹² On some example case studies concerning the export of musical instruments in the British Empire, see Banfield, 'Towards a history of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies', in *Britishness abroad: transnational movements and imperial cultures*, ed. by K. Darian Smith, P. Grimshaw and S. Macintyre (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007), pp. 63-90.

¹³ For example, they were used in India to accompany mission hymns. See Miss Cooke, 'Letter from Rangoon', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 March 1867, p. 41.

¹⁴ USPG, X Series 1018: 'The Diary of Robert John Mullins, 1854-1961 SPG Missionary in Grahamstown 1854-1913', entry for 15 December 1857.

to the exercise. These aspects of the process of acquiring an instrument are illustrated in the case of the harmonium purchased by Charles Patten for his mission.¹⁵

The harmonium appears to have been purchased primarily for the settler congregation of his missions who would have been expatriates used to the musical styles of parish churches in Britain. By the mid-nineteenth century, congregational singing there was typically accompanied by some form of wind-supported keyboard instrument such as the pipe organ, harmonium, or seraphine.¹⁶ Harmoniums were also found throughout the British world, mainly because they were a cheaper and more portable alternative to the pipe organ.¹⁷ Sometime before Easter Sunday 1874, Patten began a fundraising campaign to purchase a harmonium, and by Easter Sunday eight guineas had been received, all collected by Patten who rode twenty-five miles by horseback to collect the amounts pledged by each subscriber. He continued his efforts and a few days later he had collected twenty-five guineas. One month later, fifty guineas had been raised, approximately £3280 in today's money. The nearest vendor was a local dealer in Queenstown, the nearest commercial centre, which lay some twenty miles away. In all, it took a little over two months to acquire the instrument. Buying locally certainly helped with speeding up the process and made the venture far cheaper too. With the surplus, Patten was able to buy kneelers, hymn books, a bench for the harmonium, and candlesticks for the chapel altar. Once the instrument began to be used Patten commented that everyone was 'in rapture' about the instrument and (referring to the indigenous members of the congregation) 'many had never heard such a thing before'. It was also important that the instrument was seen to be very current: Patten wrote, 'It has only been in the country about six weeks.'

There are three key features of Patten's story that suggest that instruments were more than just a means to provide accompaniment. First, is the focus that it provided for local communities, and this can be seen demonstrated through the fundraising effort. Patten stressed that contributions towards the cost of the instrument came mainly from the settler

¹⁵ USPG E.29 (1874), f. 1729: Fred Patten, 'Report', 30 September 1874. All quotations in this paragraph pertain to this report unless otherwise stated.

¹⁶ See Nicholas Temperley, 'The Origins of the Fugeing Tune', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 17 (1981), 1-32 (p. 31), and Nicholas Temperley, *The music of the English parish church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), I, p. 280.

¹⁷ For an account of the harmonium's use in India see Bob van der Linden, *Music and empire in Britain and India: identity, internationalism, and cross-cultural communication* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 102-2 and 140-2.

members of his mission community. He noted that it demonstrated to those back in Britain that local European Christians were active in fundraising for the needs of church and mission and that these communities were becoming self-sufficient and established, a point that has been similarly made of purchases in India.¹⁸ Second, it also demonstrated that this community was maintaining the musical styles current in Britain. One of the benefits that Patten saw was that the harmonium was a source of attraction and fascination for the local community of indigenous Christians both as an object, and through the sounds that it produced. Finally, the instrument signified for missionaries the progress of missionary work and the start of further development in the spheres of indigenous ways of life that missionaries sought to change. Patten wrote: 'I hope the day will come when it will have to give place to a very much finer one.' In these ways it contributed towards establishing a sense of "sophistication", not just material, but also artistic and cultural.¹⁹

There is evidence to suggest that this was not just a story of settler communities transplanting the practices familiar to them. Indigenous Christians also came to develop an interest in imported instruments and so reinterpreted and refashioned their use, and individuals were often responsible for acquiring instruments. Herbert Xoxo, an indigenous convert, who worked on an outstation of St Mark's some 30 miles from the main mission, had bought himself an harmonium and played music by Mozart and Handel, and also accompanied chants and hymns for the local outstation congregations. Again, the instrument and the repertoire being played showed the increasing influence of Western culture on the local population, and was seen to be enhancing the artistic merits of the local soundscape and liturgical music. In another place, Waters reported that a 'native teacher' had contributed a quarter of the cost for the purchase of an harmonium for an outstation chapel, suggesting that the acquisition of instruments was not always the result of the efforts of Europeans.²⁰

Once an instrument had been acquired, missionaries needed to find people with the skills to play it. The people responsible for playing the instruments fell into two broad groups. The first was formed from people directly associated with mission work. This included missionaries, missionary wives, and indigenous converts who possessed or had

¹⁸ Cf. Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial fault lines: Christianity and colonial power in India* (Stanford, California: University of California Press, 2002), p. 150.

¹⁹ Temperley, *Music of the English parish church*, I, p. 310 notes that harmoniums were introduced into parish churches in Britain because they were seen to make church music more artistic.

²⁰ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', March 31st 1880.

learnt the skills required to play a keyboard instrument.²¹ The other group was made up of members of the settler population who possessed instruments for what would primarily appear to have been domestic use. On some occasions, missionaries held services in private homes, presumably when there was no church building to serve a particular community. I examine these groups below to outline the main features of the musical roles and responsibilities of each.

From their reports, Robert Mullins, John Gordon, and Charles Patten all appear to have had keyboard skills. Another missionary who arrived later, William Cameron, is known to have played the organ in Umtata Cathedral.²² When missionaries played instruments it appears to have been for services, or for teaching purposes. John Gordon used his harmonium to teach new repertoire to his congregation.²³ Then there were local agents like Herbert Xoxo and Jonas Ntsiko, the latter a prolific hymnwriter and translator (see Chapter 6), who was mentioned as the regular player of the harmonium purchased for Qumbu outstation in the diocese of St John's.²⁴

There were, of course, many women involved in mission work.²⁵ The discussion is limited by the amount of information we find in the sources as mission records do not provide much in this regard for two reasons. The first is that women did not, as a matter of course in the period covered by this thesis, submit reports to the Society in the same way that their husbands did. Secondly, and related, we have very few accounts of mission work undertaken by women that were written by women themselves. Nonetheless, reading through the reports of male missionaries we can see that while the work undertaken by missionary wives and other women who lived in the mission field may have been different in nature to that of their husbands, or other male missionaries, women were also actively involved and influential in mission work.²⁶

²¹ The education of indigenous converts, and how they acquired Western musical skills and knowledge is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

²² NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', June 30th 1880.

²³ USPG, E.13 (1862), f. 139: John Gordon, 'Report', 21 December 1862.

²⁴ St John's Diocese, Kaffraria, Occasional Paper 5/1887

²⁵ Chapter 4 will consider in more detail the contribution that women made towards musical education.

²⁶ Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, 'Women and Cultural Exchanges', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 173-193 (p. 180).

Consider the examples of the first two missionary wives at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek. Frances Greenstock was responsible for playing the harmonium found in the chapel at St Matthew's, Keiskammahoek.²⁷ This included playing the instrument not only for church services, but was also on other occasions. One such occasion was when the bishop visited to deliver an evening lecture, an event which included the mission pupils singing, accompanied by Greenstock on the harmonium.²⁸ Similar musical duties appear to have formed part of the work undertaken by Charles Taberer's wife, who succeeded Greenstock at St Matthew's and was there from 1870-92. Taberer was the mission's librarian, 'Lady Matron', organist, and supervised medical matters. Providing instrumental support, then, was one of many spheres of mission life in which missionary wives were active.

As we saw earlier, there were indigenous male converts who owned and played musical instruments. There is very little information about indigenous female instrumentalists.²⁹ All mission school children were taught music as part of their education but this was almost exclusively vocal and involved no instrumental tuition. In part, this could be attributed to the expense involved in procuring instruments for tuition. The dearth of indigenous female instrumentalists could be a consequence of the predominance of vocal tuition in the mission school curriculum. One exceptional case, however, is that of Emma Sandile, the daughter of a chief, who was sent to Cape Town in 1858 to be educated.³⁰ Upon her return to the Eastern Cape, she was employed as an Anglican missionary at St Mark's mission where she undertook a variety of tasks similar to those of missionary wives. In a letter to her mother in 1864, Emma Sandile wrote that she was learning to play the Seraphine.³¹ Missionary education for indigenous females at the time was aimed towards

²⁷ Generally, women, especially missionary wives, were not mentioned by first name. Except where I have managed to find out a first name, or it is given in the sources, I use the names provided hence, 'Mrs Taberer', 'Mrs Greenstock' etc.

²⁸ NLSA, MSE 9, USPG Archives Microform Collection, 1819-1900: William Greenstock, 'Report', 16th October 1862.

²⁹ For methods on reading mission sources for details of the education of black female converts, see Deborah Gaitskell, 'Women and education in South Africa: how helpful are the mission archives?', in *Missionary encounters: sources and issues*, ed. by Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), pp. 114-27.

³⁰ For a biographical study of Emma Sandile, see Margaret J. Daymond, ed., *Women writing Africa: the southern region* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2003), pp. 91-92. Janet Hodgson, *Princess Emma* (Cape Town: A.D. Donker, 1987).

³¹ USPG, D.24c: Letter, Emma Sandilli [*sic.*] to her Mother, 16 March 1864. The identity of the Mother to whom Emma addressed this letter is not obviously clear. Janet Hodgson names the recipient as Miss Matilda Smart who was Emma's teacher and mentor in Cape Town. It is

equipping pupils for domestic service, rather than towards developing a career as, for example, a teacher. Emma Sandile is an isolated example but she occupied a unique position among black female converts in that she appears to have had a far broader educational experience. This was, in part, due to her aristocratic lineage and background. She was the daughter of Sandile, the paramount chief of the Ngqika, who had sent Emma and her two brothers to Cape Town to be educated at Robert Gray's school at Zonnebloem. The ability to play a musical instrument – a marker of sophistication and Westernisation – was part of her educational programme.³²

Venues

Missionaries used a variety of venues for services especially as there was not always a church building to serve a particular community. This was the case for both European and indigenous congregations. Missionaries would often hold services for indigenous congregations in the homes of chiefs or people who held high social status in those communities. There would, of course, have been many differences between European and indigenous domestic settings: the layout of the dwellings, furnishings, the language used to conduct services, to name a few. Services were also sometimes held outside (see Figure 3.2, below).

The sonic profile of services would not only have varied from one venue to the next. For instance, sound in an outdoor venue would have been different to what was heard in a building with four walls and a roof. Even on one mission, there would have been different types of structures in which music would have sounded differently. Henry Waters reported in 1879 that on his mission there were four stone churches, two brick ones, two with mud walls, and five of wattle and daub.³³ We also know that many buildings had mud floors, another factor that would have determined a venue's acoustics.³⁴ The buildings also had different

plausible that Emma held Miss Smart in sufficient esteem to regard her as a mother. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Emma's natural mother, who remained unconverted, would have been able to read in English.

³² Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, p. 111, has noted 'musical accomplishment was thought eminently suitable for a gentlewoman of the time'. Cf. Veit Erlmann, "'Africa civilised, Africa uncivilised': local culture, world system and South African music', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20:2 (1994), 165-79 (p. 169), who argues that 'to sing in a choir, to play the harmonium or the piano was to submit proof of one's place in a civilised community.'

³³ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 June 1879.

³⁴ See, for example, USPG, E.20 (1863), f. 279: Henry Waters, 'Report', 3 March 1863,.

shapes. For instance, the chapel at Xolobe was round with a diameter of thirty-six feet. Two larger chapels were found at St Mary's Ixilingxa was rectangular, made of stone and measured sixty feet by twenty feet, and St Barnabas which was forty by sixteen feet.³⁵ The most significant difference we shall see was in instrumental provision: the music in services for congregations of Europeans or Settlers mostly had instrumental accompaniment, while those for indigenous congregations tended to be unaccompanied.

Consider the places in which Henry Waters held services for his settler congregations. In June 1879 he held a service in the home of Captain Blyth, then chief magistrate of the Transkei, with administrative oversight for the region.³⁶ The piano in Blyth's house was played by a Miss Knight who accompanied the singing in a service Waters described as 'one of the most pleasing I remember holding in a private house.' The same evening, Waters held evensong at Bika Camp where accompaniment on the piano was provided by Mrs Maclean, the wife of John Maclean, a former lieutenant-governor of British Kaffraria. In November 1879, evensong was held at the house of a Mr Barnett. Accompaniment was provided by a Miss Gilbert who played the piano for the hymns and chants. Instrumental accompaniment was also heard at entertainments, such as one held at Mr Snooke's store for the Frontier Police.³⁷ The 'hardy young fellows' provided musical entertainment with some of them playing the violin and the piano. There were also readings and Mrs Snooke played the piano to accompany the singing. Typically, settler services always featured accompanied singing and the occasions were often followed by a social event.

During the period covered in this thesis what missionaries (of all denominations) did not appear to do was make any attempt to incorporate into mission musical practice the indigenous instruments examined in Chapter 2. This is suggested by images such as Figure 3.2, a depiction of a service taken by Henry Waters, in which there are no musical instruments evident. There are no suggestions elsewhere in the sources suggesting that missionaries used indigenous instruments during the period covered in this thesis. Figure 3.2

³⁵ USPG, E.17 (1865), f. 197: Henry Waters, 'Report', 13 November 1878 (St Barnabas). NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 September 1878 (St Mary's). NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 31 December 1878 (Xolobe).

³⁶ On Blyth, see George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa since September 1795*, 5 vols. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1908), V, pp. 20, 187, 188, 161.

³⁷ Mr Snooke was probably the proprietor of a trading station. The 'Frontier Police' to which Waters referred were the 'Frontier and Armed Mounted Police', a multiracial regiment which existed between 1855 and 1878 to police the rough and mountainous terrain of the Transkei territory.

also raised further questions about the sonic profile of the venues for indigenous services. In the picture, the congregation sits quietly, listening attentively while the missionary preaches, yet we know from the sources that there were sometimes disruptions during services, and congregations could be restless. There are not many examples of such occurrences, but one was reported by Peter Masiza when a woman disrupted his service while he was preaching.³⁸

Figure 3.2 'Preaching to Kafir's at Tshaka's Kraal'



PREACHING TO KAFIRS AT TSHAKA'S KRAAL.

Source: *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 June 1859, p. 87.

³⁸ USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1171: Peter Masiza, 'Report', 8 August 1869.

As we have seen so far, the sonic profile of a particular venue was determined by any combination of factors that included the nature of the venue, the demographic of the congregation, the attendance of a skilled instrumentalist, and the presence of musical instruments suitable for accompanying congregational singing. Services for Europeans were held either at the home of a trading store owner or in the homes of prominent government officials and administrators. Trading stations were places of gathering for European settlers, and were often a convenient location for administrative officials, such as a magistrate.³⁹ Thus, these were venues of commercial and social activity and nodes of European culture where people with instrumental expertise were often likely to be found.⁴⁰ Furthermore, instrumental provision reflected the cultural profile of a particular group or congregation. As in many Western European domestic and social settings of the time, the piano was a prominent piece of furniture.⁴¹ Missionary musical forms, such as the hymn, were suited to keyboard accompaniment. Where an instrument was available and there was someone with the expertise to play it, such instruments would have been used.

Congregations

In the final part of this section I turn to considering in more detail the different congregations and how a sonic profile for each was developed. The discussion of the venues used by missionaries for their services showed us that missions often had several congregations under their care. These groups were determined along linguistic, racial, and cultural lines. Services for indigenous congregations, whether made up of converted or unconverted people, were held separately from those for congregations of settlers who, in the main, had been practising Anglicans or Christians for longer. There were occasions when these groups came together, but day-to-day services were held separately. C.F. Patten reported that his mission church held 200, and only held 'mixed' congregations, i.e. composed of European and indigenous people, on important feasts such as Easter.⁴²

³⁹ USPG, E.25 (1870), f. 1229: Henry Waters, 'Report', 31 March 1870.

⁴⁰ According to Paul Maylam, *A history of the African People of South Africa: from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 104, by 1835 there were over 200 traders established in the territory of the Eastern Cape.

⁴¹ On the representation of women and piano music in nineteenth century culture, see Mary Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', *Victorian Studies*, 30 (1986), 51-76. A social history of the piano in Victorian culture can be found in Arthur Loesser, *Men, women, and pianos: a social history* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954).

⁴² USPG, E.29 (1874), f.1705: C.F. Patten, 'Report', 31 March 1874.

Each congregation's mark on the soundscape was made evident by the presence or absence of instrumental music. Noneko Toney, the head of the Girls' School at St Mark's Mission noted in a letter of 1875 that the chapel on the mission had 'a nice harmonium in it' but that the instrument was only used at the English services, in other words, services at which the congregations were settlers.⁴³ Toney commented further that in the 'native' services (service for indigenous Christians) 'we manage better without it.' Others who commented on the selective use of instruments did not offer reasons for this differentiation. Henry Waters simply noted in a report written on 30 September 1876 that the chapel at St Mark's had an harmonium, but that it was only used in 'English services'.⁴⁴ Commenting on the use of harmonium in services, Waters wrote in his report for 31 March 1877: 'The English services are now much more interesting as the Harmonium is admirably played by Mrs. S. D. Snooke, and Europeans generally support the musical parts of the service.' It is implicit in these comments that the instruments' use was determined largely by the cultural demographic of the congregation.

The use of an harmonium presupposed a familiarity with not only the genre of the hymn, but also the homophonic S.A.T.B. texture typical of most hymnody of the time, and the European tonal system on which it was based (discussed in more detail below, pp. 152-4).⁴⁵ Thus musical familiarity would have determined the content and styles used in services. For European congregations the genre of the hymn and its musical structure and texture would have been familiar, while many indigenous congregants would have not been sufficiently practised in these musical styles and musical textures to sing accompanied. Something as commonplace to Europeans as the S.A.T.B. texture of a hymn which informed the nature of the keyboard accompaniment would have been unfamiliar to many indigenous congregants who had been used to the styles and conventions of indigenous music.⁴⁶

A further factor that determined the use of instrumental accompaniment was the size of the different congregations. Congregation size varied from one location to another, but

⁴³ Noneko (Hannah) Toney to Miss Anne Mackenzie, quoted in Margaret J. Daymond, ed., *Women writing Africa: the southern region* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2003), pp. 113-4.

⁴⁴ UPSG, Pamphlets 280 (Microfilm, Pres. Films. 265): Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 September 1876.

⁴⁵ S.A.T.B. stands for 'Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass', the standard combination of voice parts that sing hymns and other choral music, usually in four-part harmony.

⁴⁶ Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: postcolonial notes, queries, questions* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2003), p. 10.

generally those made up of indigenous people were larger than the European counterparts. In 1879, Henry Waters estimated the total population of his mission to be 151,000.⁴⁷ On an average Sunday, according to Waters, 3,400 attended services in thirty-six congregations scattered across the area of his mission. Two of these congregations were European.⁴⁸ By 1881, Waters' reports showed an increase: there were now forty-eight outstations of which forty-five were for Africans and three for Europeans.⁴⁹ Even when missionaries did not supply head counts, they indicated that indigenous congregations were always larger than European ones. For example, A.J. Newton reported that on his mission, which covered a territory of twenty square miles, at the end of 1874 there were 500 Africans and 40 Europeans, but the total number of church members, 300, was not differentiated along racial lines.⁵⁰ In 1874 William Greenstock's reported statistics for his mission listed that in the twenty square miles it covered there were 5000 indigenous people and forty Europeans, of whom three hundred were church members.

These statistics highlight two points that influenced the provision of musical instruments. Financially, acquiring an instrument and getting one to all thirty-eight outstations would have been too complicated, especially considering that this process was not straightforward, as we have already seen. Despite its popularity and widespread use, the harmonium could not always provide adequate accompaniment for large congregations on account of the low volume the instrument could produce, and its lack of rhythmic definition.⁵¹ Indigenous congregations were larger, and by missionary accounts sang more loudly: missionaries frequently described the singing of indigenous congregations as 'hearty', suggesting that this was the case. It is unlikely, therefore, that a quiet keyboard instrument such as a harmonium or a seraphine could have provided the volume required to lead the singing of a large congregation.

From the evidence presented in this section, two broad perceptions become clear about the ways in which instruments were used as markers on the mission soundscape. In the first place, they were valued for the cultural continuity they provided, and their role in

⁴⁷ This was the total population of the area, including all those who were not Anglican mission converts.

⁴⁸ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 September 1879.

⁴⁹ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, Report', 30 September 1881.

⁵⁰ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1703: William Greenstock, 'Report', 23 November 1874. See also USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1703: A.J. Newton 23 November 1874.

⁵¹ Temperley, *Music of the English parish church*, I, p. 311.

representing a link with British musical norms and practices. This is why missionaries often went to great lengths to acquire musical instruments and to demonstrate their use. Furthermore, their auditory presence was a sign of the establishment of missions, and marked out the progression of mission work. Secondly, they helped, on one level, maintain a sonic difference between specific groups and delineated congregations and communities, even if the reasons behind this were practical. This may have been an unintended consequence: no explicit reasons were given by missionaries as to why they were often not used in services for indigenous congregations. There were, of course, exceptions and deviations such as where their use was reliant on the availability of sufficiently-skilled people. Initially, this was more likely to have been in congregations made up of settlers or people of European backgrounds. It was only a matter of time before these distinctions came to be less obvious. By the later 1870s indigenous congregations began to see instruments such as the harmonium as a necessary furnishing for a church, and players with the skills to play instruments were emerging from indigenous communities. The features of the soundscape examined so far have mainly been concerned with smaller units such as domestic settings and congregations. There were features of the soundscape that were more widely audible and which meant missions sounds were heard also by those who were outside mission communities.

Bells and the soundscape: To hearken and to publish

The following statement, written in September 1868 by C.F. Patten, provides some indication of the importance bells had for missionaries:

One thing we certainly do want very badly and that is a good large bell. One that could be heard three or four miles wd be preferable of course. Still one of a smaller size wd be thankfully received [...] It may be a satisfaction to those assisting us to feel that in so doing they will be daily calling upon thousands of heathen to hearken to that message of pardon and peace which it is an unspeakable privilege to publish.⁵²

The words ‘hearken’ and ‘publish’ sum up what the function of bells was for Anglican-Xhosa and explain why the bell was such a significant sound for missionaries of other

⁵² USPG, E.23 (1868), f. 1141. 30.9.68

denominations as well.⁵³ And this can be understood easily for of all the sounds that permeated the mission soundscape, the sound of a bell ringing was the most consistently heard. Not only were they rung several times a day, they marked the beginning of important occasions, and they summoned people for services and times of prayer. They were the most audible marker of the missionary presence because their sound could carry over a relatively large area. Where they were available, they were also the most regular soundmark. In this section I wish to show that the sound of bells was both rhetorical and metaphysical: there were meanings and associations attached to their sound. The nature of bells as functional and metaphysical objects enables us to consider the ways in which the soundscape was constructed, and how this process involved a struggle over the meanings of these soundmarks.

The reasons for getting a bell

The bell was an established sonic signal of both Western Christianity and industry so for this reason alone it was understandable that missionaries wished to introduce bells.⁵⁴ As we saw in C.F. Patten's statement, missionaries wished each mission church to have a bell so that every part of the landscape was 'covered' by its sound. This reflected an attempt to recreate the sonic network of bells found with the parish church buildings in Britain. Most parish churches had a tower with bells which could be heard over the immediate parish neighbourhood. On a worldwide level, mission bells were seen as part of a network of sound which symbolised the spread of Christian culture, and each bell represented a sonic node in the developing network of British Christianity worldwide.

In the first place, these links can be seen in the origin of these physical objects. The bells known to have existed on the Anglican-Xhosa missions came from Britain: they were cast in British bell foundries and transported to the mission field.⁵⁵ Often the fittings were also imported from Britain: the lathe for the new bell at St Mark's came from Scotland, for

⁵³ Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the context for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), p. 141.

⁵⁴ For a classic study of the industrialisation of time and the use of church bells see Jacques le Goff, trans by Christophe Campos, 'Church time and merchant time in the Middle Ages', *Information (International Social Science Council)*, 9:4 (1970), 151-67.

⁵⁵ This was also the case for missions of other denominations who used bells. See Tertius de Wet, *et al*, 'Historic bells in Moravian Mission in South Africa's Western Cape', *Historia* 59 (2014), pp. 94-119, whose survey of bells on Moravian missions shows that most bells could be traced to German foundries.

example. This was out of necessity as there were no foundries or any local expertise in the Cape Colony. The origins of these physical objects were therefore important because they were both a tangible and sonic presence of the metropole in the mission field.

When the bell at St Mark's mission was damaged in a storm in 1878, Henry Waters immediately set about acquiring a replacement. As Waters commented, the bell 'reminded many of the church bells of the Fatherland.'⁵⁶ The second bell to arrive was cast by Warner and Sons, a well-established British foundry. There were strong cultural associations here as well for Warner's was responsible for many famous bells throughout Britain such as 'Big Ben' in the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, cast in 1856, and had also been sending bells to British territories overseas since the seventeenth century.

Missionaries saw bells as part of the process of constructing and developing a mission, and because of this they became a symbol of this process. In the first place they represented the completion of a mission station. C.F. Patten reported in March 1873 that it took four years to build a church on his mission but that it would only be complete when it had a belfry to house a ringing bell. Once the belfry had been built the community set about acquiring a bell. As Patten reported, 'We have not yet got the bell but the natives say, "Perhaps when people see that we have built a belfry someone will give us a bell."' In September later that year, Patten reported that he had been able to purchase a small bell, but this was only a beginning: 'I hope some day to see [it] superseded by a larger one when we can collect funds.'⁵⁷ The desire for a bigger bell could be said to have existed for a number of reasons: the local terrain might have required a bigger sounding bell for it to carry over hills and vegetation; the mission area could be expanding creating a need for the bell to sound further so that people could hear it; or it was felt that a bigger bell with a louder sound would have more of an impact. What was clear was that for missionaries a bigger bell was a sign of both the development and consolidation of mission work.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 31 March 1878.

⁵⁷ USPG, E.27 (1873), f.[n.a.]: C.F. Patten, 'Report', 31 March 1873 and 30 September 1873.

⁵⁸ See, for example, the report of Henry Waters in which he compared the old and replacement bells. The comparative weight of the two (the old bell weighed 2 cwt or 100 kgs, whereas the new one weighed 3 cwt or 152 kgs) was a sign of the improvement. NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 31 December 1879.

Mapping the network of bells

It is difficult to know the precise number of bells found on missions but having an approximate idea of how many bells there were can help us to understand better their significance for missionaries. Owing to the often significant distances between mission stations, missionaries appear to have expended energy to get as many bells as possible installed on their mission. This meant that even the heaviest bell would not have been able to cover the entire area in which missionaries worked. There were also further factors that hindered the effort to create a comprehensive network of bells over the mission field. This included immovable geographical features such as mountains and vegetation. Changeable factors such as the weather, wind in particular, could also have determined how far a bell's sound could carry.

The following example serves to illustrate some of the points raised in the previous paragraph. The distance between the neighbouring missions of St Matthew's Keiskammahoek and St John's Bolotwa was about eighty-eight miles, far greater than the range of an average bell. Thus, where it was possible because of available infrastructure and finance, bells were acquired for smaller outstation churches. When the church at St James mission, an outstation of St Mark's, was completed in 1873, there was a surplus left over from the subscriptions raised for the building, and this was set aside for purchasing a bell.⁵⁹ A bell from Scotland was sent to the chapel of St Mary's Ixilingxa to complete the new building.⁶⁰ What these two examples suggest is that obtaining a bell for an outstation church was determined by either finance or the relative size of the church and its community, or both, given that the one would have relied on the other.

When there was no ringing bell set up in a belfry or ringing tower, missions used sonic and visual substitutes. At St Luke's mission in the 1850s, William Greenstock used a handbell to announce the beginning of services.⁶¹ Before Bransby Key acquired a bell for his mission station, he would beat a ploughshare with a stone.⁶² This technique has been noted as having been deployed by missionaries in other parts of the Eastern Cape to summon

⁵⁹ USPG, E.28 (1873), f. [n.a.]: Henry Waters, 'Journal', February to March.

⁶⁰ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 20 September 1880.

⁶¹ See the reports of William Greenstock for June and August 1858 at USPG, E.4, ff. 79 and 209, respectively.

⁶² Godfrey Callaway, *A shepherd of the veld: Bransby Lewis Key, Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria* (London: Wells Gardner, 1912), p. 132.

congregations to services.⁶³ Improvised (or ad hoc) substitutes might not necessarily have been sonic: on the missions to the Tswana, for instance, some missionaries used a flag as a visual symbol to indicate the times of services.⁶⁴ At this point it is worth noting that none of these missions possessed a tower of any significant height. This is a factor that impacts on how bell's sound carries. The absence of high towers and the mountainous terrain of the area hindered the efforts of missionaries to create a soundscape of networked bells.

The archival evidence suggests that by the 1860s all the principal mission stations had a ringing bell. There was never more than one bell on a mission station; rings of bells were limited to larger centres. For example, Grahamstown Cathedral – the diocesan centre for the Anglican-Xhosa missions – acquired a ring of eight bells (also cast by Warner's) in 1878.⁶⁵ A variety of factors such as infrastructure, finance and personnel, limited the ability of smaller missions to have more than one bell. Housing a ring of bells (such as the eight in Grahamstown Cathedral) required a well-built and sturdy tower, and other expensive fittings such as ropes, and turning wheels. It also required people with expertise not just to ring the bells, but also to see to their maintenance. Nonetheless, where they were found, bells denoted the status of a place. The bell at the new Cathedral in Umtata, the neighbouring diocese to Grahamstown, was thought to be the largest in Kaffirland, and while the bishop apparently wished to have a ring of bells, the single, large bell that could be heard 'for many miles around' was, perhaps, a sufficient symbol of the importance of the place.⁶⁶

Bells and routines

Having acquired a bell, missionaries were concerned that the sound was able to carry over as far a distance as possible, and this required adequate infrastructure. The bell at Albert Magg's mission swung on low poles which was unsatisfactory. Maggs reported the need for a turret to be built on to the mission station chapel 'so that the bell might be heard throughout the neighbourhood better.'⁶⁷ Generally, missionaries would report that a bell's sound could

⁶³Giordano Nanni, 'Conflicting Times: British Missionaries and the Colonisation of Time in the Nineteenth-century Cape Colony', *Exploring the British world: identity, cultural production, institutions*, ed. by Kate Darian-Smith (Melbourne: RMIT Publishing, 2004), pp. 257-70 (p. 267).

⁶⁴Isaiah Bud-Mbelle, *Kafir Scholar's Companion* (Lovedale: The Mission Press, 1903), p. 13.

⁶⁵ See *Church Bells*, 21 December 1878, p. 31.

⁶⁶ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 September 1877.

⁶⁷ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1691: Albert Maggs, 'Report', 4 February 1874.

be heard for two to three miles. Bells were an important means to define a territory.⁶⁸ The further its sonic reach, in other words, the further a mission station could be said to exert its territorial control. Missionaries wanted their bells to be heard because an important part of their function was to announce events and to signal a mission station's daily routines.

Bells were rung to signify a variety of occasions which occurred on either a daily or less frequent basis. Apart from the daily uses of bells, they were rung to mark important occasions. Fred Patten reported how the bell of his mission church was rung for a New Year's Eve Service to signify 'the solemn news of the approaching departure of another year'.⁶⁹ Bells were also rung to mark the arrival of important people. For example, when the bishop visited St Mark's mission, the bell was rung, as a sonic signal of his arrival and presence.⁷⁰

When the new bell arrived on Henry Waters' mission, it was a significant event because it was the bell that 'gives time to the country.'⁷¹ Controlling the soundscape and controlling time were coterminous functions. Time was an important dimension because of its close association with work and controlling working patterns.⁷² As the activity of a mission station was closely controlled by time, it was, in turn, an illustration of a mission station's productivity. Apart from the patterns of time based around the movement of the sun, and day and night, missionaries were not able to identify within Xhosa culture any sense of clock time, or a structured and ordered division of time that corresponded with their own structuring of time, and so the bell was important to the process of remedying this perceived defect. Missionary time was structured around certain events that occurred on a daily, weekly, monthly or seasonal basis. The bell at St Bede's College in Umtata, as on many other missions, regulated the daily routine.⁷³ For example, Godfrey Callaway noted the ringing of the bell that told the students the times for rising, services, meals, classes, and other activities

⁶⁸ See Alain Corbin, *Village bells: sound and meaning in the 19th-century French countryside*, trans. by Martin Thom (London: Papermac, 1999), pp. 95-7

⁶⁹ USPG, E.29 (1874), f.1705: Fred Patten, 'Report', 31 March 1874.

⁷⁰ Callaway, *Shepherd of the Veld*, p. 198.

⁷¹ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 June 1880.

⁷² Frederick Cooper, 'Colonizing Time: Work Rhythms and Labor Conflict in Colonial Mombassa', in *Colonialism and culture*, ed. by Nicholas Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 209-46 (esp. p. 211) for a discussion of time and work in East Africa.

⁷³ St Bede's College was founded by Henry Callaway, the first bishop of Kaffraria, as a theological college to train missionary catechists and clergy recruited from indigenous converts.

such as manual labour.⁷⁴ Implicit in Callaway's description is an acknowledgment of the adjustments to the daily routine that had to be made with the introduction of clock time.⁷⁵ He noted that a new student beginning his studies was being 'transplanted' from an 'easy-going atmosphere into a college where the clock [...] and the bell rule'.

The bell was also an important means of inculcating a weekly pattern. The introduction of the missionary seven-day week was a realigning of indigenous ideas about time and its organisation.⁷⁶ This is suggested in John Henderson Soga's work *The Ama-Xosa: life and customs*, in which he was noted that prior to the arrival of missionaries, amaXhosa had already divided the year into four seasons, based on the pattern of agricultural and natural occurrences.⁷⁷ Soga was not certain if the twelve months, which had names, had been introduced by missionaries. He claimed, however, that the concept of a seven-day week had not existed prior to the arrival of missionaries, and that even the names of the days were devised by missionaries.⁷⁸ The name given to 'Sunday' was '*I-Cawa*', which (as it was the same as the word for 'church') made clear the implication that missionaries wished to inculcate the concept of the Sabbath, or Lord's, Day in the new Christian ordering of time. The importance of the Sabbath was not only closely connected to Christianity, as the Lord's Day, but also viewed in Western/European civilisation as a day of rest. Giordano Nanni has shown that this was as much about performing Christianity as it was about inculcating new ideas about industry, work, and learning.⁷⁹

It is difficult to assess the success of these aims. Mission station life competed with established indigenous customs, a challenge acknowledged by missionaries. Waters continued to refer to 'heathen customs' (described variously by him as 'shameful', 'abominable' and 'lascivious') that converts would attend and continue to observe. Many of

⁷⁴ Callaway, *Shepherd of the Veld*, p. 150.

⁷⁵ Le Goff, 'Church time and merchant time in the Middle Ages', p. 165.

⁷⁶ Isaiah Bud'Mbelle wrote in his *Kafir Scholar's Companion*, p. 12: 'the Native knew only the difference between light and darkness, *i.e.* day and night. The first missionaries found them in this state.'

⁷⁷ John Henderson Soga (1860-1941) was the son of Tiyo Soga (1829-1871), the first black Presbyterian minister. His *The Ama-Xosa: Life and customs* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1932) is attributed as the first systematic attempt at a written history and ethnography of the Xhosa people. For a description of the organisation of time in Zulu culture, see Keletso E. Atkins, '*The Moon is Dead! Give us our money!*': *The cultural origins of an African work ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993), pp. 80-3.

⁷⁸ Soga, *Ama-Xosa*, p. 417.

⁷⁹ Giordano Nanni, *The colonisation of time: ritual, routine and resistance in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 158.

these occurred at particular times in the year, or certain life stages, and were ritual practices that were in competition with their Christian counterparts.⁸⁰ The rituals to mark certain stages of life, included *intongana* (associated with the onset of puberty in females). Missionaries wished to supplant such rituals with their own ceremonies such as baptism, confirmation, and so forth. We can also see similar competition through observations such as *hlonipha* (ancestral worship). Missionaries aimed to supplant these observations with routines of their own such the calendar of saints and the Prayer Book lectionary.⁸¹

From missionary reports, the impression given is that people responded to the call of the bell. The bell, however, was competing in a sonic environment with other auditory signals. Missionaries found that the new schedules and routines were competing with traditional indigenous rituals and observances, as Henry Waters noted when he wrote ‘the pulse of barbarianism does not keep time with that of civilisation.’⁸² As we saw in Chapter 2, indigenous rituals often involved music, singing, dancing and clapping the sound of which made missionaries acutely aware of the presence of competing customs and beliefs. With cases of such practices being observed by not only unconverted amaXhosa, but mission station amaXhosa as well, the bell became even more important as a means of reminding people of what was happening, and encouraging the behavioural responses missionaries were promoting.

Establishing the sonic authority of bells, therefore, meant establishing what they were intended to signify, and these meanings could not always be taken for granted. Bells were introduced into a pre-existing sonic environment in which there were sounds that already had well-established signifying values. For missionaries, the task that bells were assigned was to control the ritual patterns of the area covered by a mission station. Thus, inherent in the bell’s auditory rhetoric were the signals associated with the religious routines that occurred at different times, which, it was hoped, would govern the lives of the people in a particular district.

The ringing of bells became a daily sonic occurrence for the people living on or in the vicinity of most mission stations. The sound emitted by bells was given two principal

⁸⁰ Keletso E. Atkins has noted how missionaries among the Zulu people found that traditional customs and rituals interrupted the routines that missionaries wished to establish. See Atkins, *The Moon is Dead!*, p. 87.

⁸¹ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 31 December 1879.

⁸² NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 31 December 1879.

functions: to call people for services and to regulate time. Bells were rung at the start of the daily services, and to indicate the different segments of the school timetable, where there were schools. The meanings of a ringing bell were familiar to missionaries and those of a similar religious and cultural background. To many missionaries and settlers, the bell (like the musical instrument) was a reminder of ‘home’ and a familiar sonic signal in their new and unfamiliar environment. Henry Waters reported that ‘the particularly sweet tone [of the bell] reminded many of the church bells of the Fatherland.’⁸³ But the meanings and associations that went with a bell’s sound would probably have been unfamiliar to those without this cultural knowledge. Instilling these meanings in the local population and converts to Christianity was an important component of mission work. For this reason, the bell was closely associated with establishing missionary patterns of routine and time.

Responses

Having set out the intentions that missionaries had for bells, and sketched some of the obstacles in the way of these intentions, I now examine some of the responses that were recorded. We have seen how missionaries desired the sound of a bell ringing to elicit specific responses from the local population, converted or not. In this way, the bell was also a means for missionaries to gauge their influence over indigenous societies. But this was a two-way process: while the bell signalled the belief and customs of British missionaries, and offered converts a way into this way of life, it also provided an opportunity for resistance. By seeing how people responded to the ringing of the bell, they were able to comment on the progress of their work and the extent to which their teachings were being accepted and adopted. But to understand the wider cultural significance of bells in the context of mission, we need to look at the responses of both the ringers of bells *and* the listeners, and especially at the ways in which listeners responded or did not.⁸⁴

There are many examples of missionaries describing the responses they observed to the sound of bells. Albert Maggs wrote about his ‘native guide’ with whom he had been travelling.⁸⁵ The mission bell of St Mark’s could be heard from three miles off, and when it was, Maggs could hear his guide singing and reciting what he heard as parts of the evening service. Henry Waters reported an occasion when a gentleman and lady were travelling with

⁸³ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 31 March 1878.

⁸⁴ This point is made by Michelle E. Garceau, “‘I call the people’: church bells in fourteenth-century Catalunya”, *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 197-214 (p. 214).

⁸⁵ Albert Maggs, ‘Kaffrarian missions’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 January 1861, p. 7.

a convert of St Mark's, who began chanting. When they asked him why he was chanting, he said that the St Mark's bell was ringing and that prompted him to recite evensong.⁸⁶

Examples of unwelcome responses to mission bells are hardly documented in the sources, although there would almost certainly have been such cases. Bells were meant to draw people to services, but missionaries found that bells sent out mixed messages, or their message was not always understood in the same way. Rather than drawing people in, a bell's sound could either be ignored or lead to bemusement. This is illustrated by the experience of William Greenstock who held services in the village where the kraal of Chief Kona was located. Kona had granted permission for Greenstock to hold services for the people and, to announce these, Greenstock would send someone around the village ringing a handbell. Sometimes the bell had to be rung twice to draw the desired response.⁸⁷ Greenstock found, however, that he would often have to go around calling people himself, suggesting that the bell's sound did not have the calling effect he desired. Despite the chief sanctioning missionary activity in his territory, it appears that there were still tensions and struggles over authority, as well as mixed messages, of which the ringing bell is one example.⁸⁸

There is evidence, albeit patchy and dispersed over a wide area, which suggests that societies in other parts of Africa had developed objects similar to bells. Rocks of a certain formation which allowed tones to be produced were used as musical instruments in other parts of Africa.⁸⁹ Such objects might also have been used in the Eastern Cape before the arrival of the Anglican-Xhosa missions. One example from the same geographical area as the Anglican-Xhosa missions is the 'bell-rock', reputed to have been used by the indigenous evangelist Ntsikana (c. 1780-1821), to summon people to his mission services.⁹⁰

The famous hymn written by Ntsikana (discussed further in Chapter 5, below) began with a section known as 'Ntsikana's Bell' (*Intsimbi ka-Ntsikana* in isiXhosa), and there are

⁸⁶ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report' 31 March 1878.

⁸⁷ See Greenstock reports for June and August 1858, above.

⁸⁸ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), pp. 262-3 have demonstrated how among the Tswana missionaries and chiefs contested the meanings and uses that bells were meant to transmit.

⁸⁹ See Bernard Fagg, 'The discovery of multiple rock gongs in Nigeria', *African Music* 3 (1956), 6-9.

⁹⁰ Janet Hodgson, *Ntsikana's great hymn: a Xhosa expression of Christianity in the early 19th century eastern Cape* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1980), p. 7, who provides an account of the artefact based on fieldwork evidence.

two possible explanations for this name, a name which hints at the hymn's function as a means to gather people when it was sung by Ntsikana and his followers.⁹¹ This name would suggest that before the arrival of the Anglican-Xhosa missionaries, one of the meanings associated with the word 'bell' was 'to gather' or 'to summon'. There is no indication as to how widespread this practice was, although it is possible that Ntsikana was adapting a pre-Christian Xhosa practice of announcing a gathering with the voice rather than with the sound of a physical object. John Knox Bokwe explained that as people arrived, they would join in with the singing and add other parts. The bell consisted of two words '*Sele*' and '*Ahom*'. Bokwe claimed that '*Sele*' meant 'Come' while '*Ahom*' was an onomatopoeic word, the equivalent of 'ding-dong' in English. This would suggest that the word was a metonym as it was not an actual bell ringing but represented Ntsikana's bell rock.

On the basis of this evidence, it would seem that the traditional manner of calling people was through the use of the voice, even after Christianity had been introduced to the Xhosa-speaking peoples. It would also seem that the gathering together was signified further by people joining in with the gathering song to signal that they were joining in. This performative mode was at odds with a bell ringing which was a physical object whose sound could not be joined by a human voice. It is plausible that because it was not possible to join in with the ringing of a bell, the missionary practice perplexed indigenous people who had not been initiated into the meanings of missionaries' sonic signals.

These isolated examples suggest that pre-existing practices could often complicate the meanings that missionaries wished to communicate through bells. This was a problem that missionaries encountered when trying to establish the sonic authority of the bell. The meanings attached to the sound of bells needed to be taught and learned, which required additional proselytising and education. As this was a sound that was heard beyond the mission station, the meanings could not always be controlled, and came to be interpreted by those outside mission communities in ways unanticipated by missionaries. As we have seen so far, sounds permeated both the indoor and outdoor spaces of the mission field and were a means to established boundaries and define groups. I turn now to look at the ways in which sound created a public image for missions.

⁹¹ This is the explanation given by John Knox Bokwe in his study of Ntsikana: John Knox Bokwe, *Ntsikana: the story of an African convert* (Lovedale: The Mission Press, 1914), pp. 18-19.

Processions: ‘when a multitude unite in one strain of Music.’⁹²

In the final section of this chapter, I consider processions and explore how they were used to contribute to the missionary soundscape. The music of this activity was singing, and so meaning, unlike instrumental music and bells, was generally determined by a text. The texts would have been hymns and canticles, mostly in translation but using plainchant melodies and chants. Further meaning was also derived from the gestures involved, such as the movement of the procession, and the arrangement of those participating, and what they were doing while they processed. Processions, then, were spectacles, and so their impact on the soundscape was the result of the interaction of the various elements that made up the enactment of this practice.

Some general points about processions

There would have been a number of reasons why processions were part of the set of practices on the Anglican-Xhosa missions. Liturgical processions were a practice well-established in Christian ritual. In their simplest form, they involve the movement of people from one point to another.⁹³ As they imitated narratives in the Bible featuring a movement of people, they were also symbolic acts for those who participated. Moving in procession imitated the journey of the Israelites through the desert, or the processions of Christ (Palm Sunday, and the Procession to Calvary, for example). In this way, they had didactic functions as they imitated the action found in many Christian Biblical narratives.

Processions were a way to mark particular occasions as they tended to fall into two types: cyclical or occasional.⁹⁴ Cyclical processions occurred at a particular point in the calendar to mark an occasion and most of the processions discussed below are an example of this type. They therefore served to entrench the liturgical and temporal calendar which missionaries wished to establish, an aim we have already seen in this chapter. The other type, occasional processions, were connected with irregular, or one-off, events, such as the dedication of churches, or the consecration of new buildings or missions.

⁹² USPG, E.25 (1870), f. 1237: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 30 September 1870.

⁹³ For a discussion of the variety found in Medieval German processions see Elizabeth Wainwright, *Studien zum deutschen Prozessionsspiel: Die Tradition der Fronleichnamspiele in Kuzelsau und Freiburg und ihre textliche Entwicklung* (München: Ardeo, 1974), p. 18.

⁹⁴ I have borrowed this terminology from Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions’, *Revue de Musicologie*, 86 (2000), 127-42 (p. 134).

Processions were often a combination of both outdoor and indoor activity. A typical procession would start outdoors, move around the mission station and then into the mission chapel where a concluding service would be held. There would have been a variety of sonic effects. The sound of outdoor singing during a procession was often affected by the wind and the movement of the procession. Henry Waters noted the difference in sound at various stages during the St Mark's day procession of 1870: 'the surpliced choir filed off so as to enter the North & South doors together and meet at the main doorway, chanting to their seats in the Choir.'⁹⁵ When the Benedicite was sung at the dedication of St James' Chapel on 4 March 1873, the procession moved three times around the chapel building, before stopping for the ceremonial opening of the chapel door.⁹⁶ This particular example illustrates a final point about processions: they were visual spectacles. The movement of banners, surpliced ministers, and a body of people, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, would have made for an eye-catching event that was a physical statement about the ownership of a territory.⁹⁷ The spectacle of processions, then, was really created through the combination of visual and sonic spectacle and I now explore how this is illustrated in the processions that took place on the Anglican-Xhosa missions.

Processions on the Anglican-Xhosa missions

On 28 April 1869, the annual meeting and festival took place on St Mark's Mission.⁹⁸ The day was the annual celebration of the feast day of the mission's patron saint and it was observed with a variety of activities. These days varied from year to year, and sometimes had to be postponed due to adverse weather (as was the case in 1870), but usually included activities like cricket matches, a meeting of the native teachers and catechists, competitions

⁹⁵ USPG, E.25 (1870), f. 1237: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 September 1870.

⁹⁶ USPG, E.28 (1873), f. [n.a.]: Henry Waters, 'Journal', February to March. The Benedicite is one of the canticles in the Anglican liturgy of Matins, Morning Prayer. It is usually sung in English as 'O all Ye works of the Lord' (see Appendix J, p. 282, for the full text) and takes its name from the first word of the Latin Vulgate text of the canticle.

⁹⁷ As Charles Zika has observed in an analysis of medieval processions: '[P]rocessions represent a liturgical marking-out of space, an identification of individuals and local groups with a certain territory and with the powers who exercise authority over that territory.' See Charles Zika, 'Hosts, processions and pilgrimages: controlling the sacred in fifteenth-century Germany', *Past and Present*, 118 (1988), 25-64 (pp. 35 & 44).

⁹⁸ There are two accounts of this day and the sketch which follows is based on both of these: (1) USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1157: Peter Masiza, 'Report', [n.d.]; and (2) USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1225: Henry Waters, 'Report', September 1869.

for the best dressed school children, picnics, and singing competitions.⁹⁹ The festivals were a chance for the mission community, scattered across many outstations, to come together.

In 1869, as was the case for most years, the culmination of the day's proceedings was a procession which took place in the afternoon and preceded the annual meeting and evening service. At some point in the afternoon between two and four, the procession formed up at the lower part of the station. At the head of the procession went the choir and teachers, all robed in surplices. They were followed by two missionary priests and the banner bearer, and finally the missionary, Archdeacon Waters. Following this group came the people, 'three deep [...] in good order', and the whole group set off, making its way around the mission before entering the chapel for the concluding service of the day. While they processed, they sang the *Benedicite*, in isiXhosa (see Appendix J, p. 282).

Such elements of organisation and practice were evident when processions took place on other mission stations and on different types of occasions. At the consecration of a new burial ground at St Matthew's Mission in 1862, William Greenstock reported that a procession of around 'eighty Christian natives and a few Europeans' began what was a 'solemn service.'¹⁰⁰ The procession formed up and moved to the cemetery, on this occasion with the people leading the procession, and the choir, catechists, missionary and the bishop following at the end. While processing, the choir sang three hymns in English. When the procession arrived at the cemetery, it formed into two lines, between which the bishop passed and commenced the blessing while the choir and Greenstock chanted Psalm 90 antiphonally ('Lord, thou hast been our refuge: from one generation to another'). There was more singing than speaking on this occasion, with both English and isiXhosa being used. In addition to three hymns and the psalm, the choir sang a hymn in isiXhosa, the Doxology in English, and a portion of Biblical text from 1 Chronicles ('Thine, O Lord is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all.').¹⁰¹ Like the St Mark's Day processions, singing was an integral part of the procession.

⁹⁹ St Mark's Day falls on 25 April (see *Book of Common Prayer* 'Calendar'). Henry Waters reported that the 1870 Festival was moved to 28 June 'because of heavy rains.' See USPG, E.25 (1870), f. 1237: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 September 1870.

¹⁰⁰ NLSA, MSE 9, USPG microform collection 1819-1900: William Greenstock, Report, 2.10.2862.

¹⁰¹ It is not clear what the translations were that were used, nor who was responsible for them.

Sonic effects

As we have seen so far, processions were about creating attention and attracting interest, and the sonic effects they created were the primary means by which this was achieved. The most obvious way in which processions made a mark on the soundscape was through the singing. That this was important for missionaries is indicated by the detail Greenstock provided of the music that was sung, and also by the comments of Peter Masiza and Henry Waters. Both expressed disappointment that a strong wind dampened the sound of the singing: Masiza commented, ‘the singing was much hinder [*sic.*] by the wind which raise at the same time [as the procession], while Waters complained that ‘owing to the strong wind the effect [of the *Benedicite*] was not so impressive as normal.’ This is made clear when we compare the reports from other years. The previous year he commented that ‘the loud gregorian [*sic.*] tones of the chant gave life to the whole movement.’¹⁰² That year he also commented on the ‘double’ effect’ as the procession turned around at one point to double back. In 1870, the singing ‘was in good time’ and resounded off the walls of the mission station buildings and inside the chapel.¹⁰³

The example of the *Benedicite* also shows us that the singing was, in and of itself, a symbolic act as the texts that were sung expressed the values and beliefs of those participating, a feature of processions generally.¹⁰⁴ Example 3.1 shows a possible rendering of what *Benedicite* in isiXhosa might have been using the information that Waters provided: an isiXhosa text was used and it was sung to a chant melody.¹⁰⁵ I have made an imagined reconstruction of what thus could have been using plainsong melodies from Thomas Helmore’s *A manual of plainsong* (1850), the most widely-used source for plainsong and widely used by choirs that sang plainchant melodies. Example 3.1 is hypothetical: the purpose is to provide an approximation of what might have been sung on the basis of the available text and melodies that would have been known. I have used the isiXhosa texts of *Benedicite* and set them to two of the most common plainchant melodies that would have been used for this canticle in Anglican services in the mid-nineteenth century on the basis

¹⁰² USPG, E.23 (1868), f. 1213: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 30 September 1868.

¹⁰³ USPG E.25 (1870), f. 1237: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 30 September 1870.

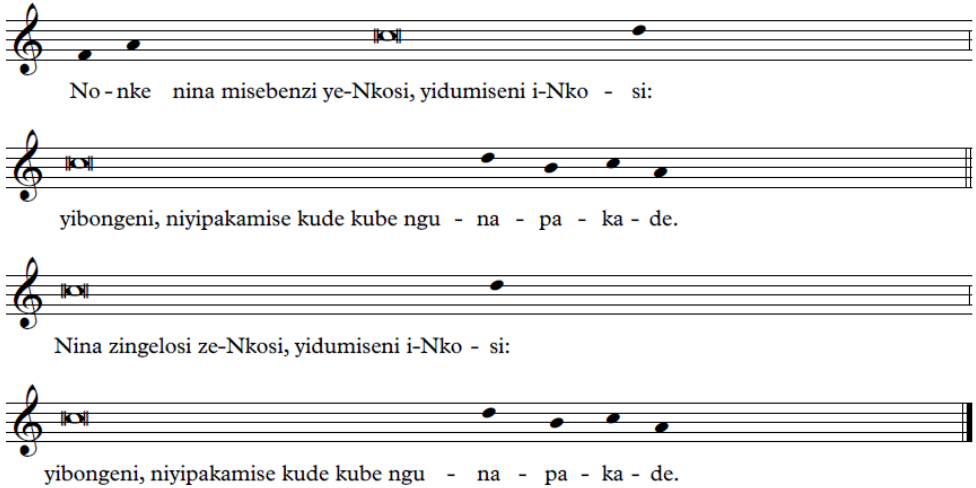
¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Mervyn James, *Society, politics and culture: studies in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Temperley, *Music of the English parish church*, I, p. 261.

that these melodies, or ones similar, would have been familiar to missionaries and therefore likely to have been transferred to the mission field.

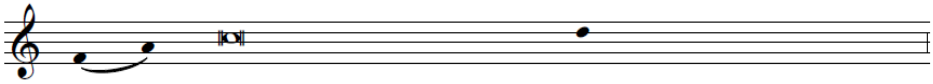

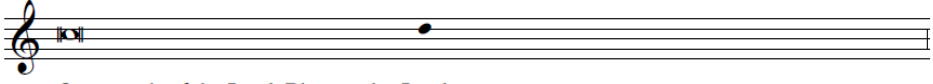

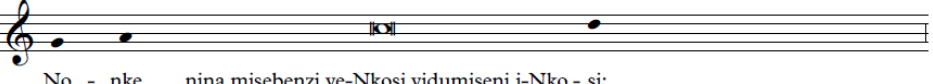

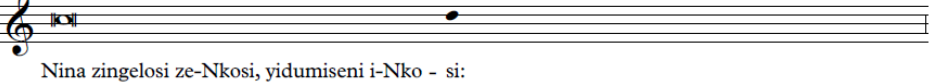
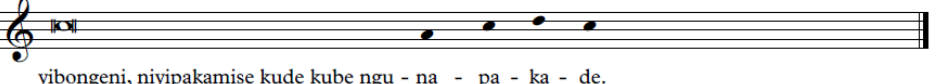
As can be seen *Benedicite* has a refrain, something not many psalms, canticles and hymns have.¹⁰⁶ After each verse, or invocation to a different part of creation came the words ‘bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever. / *yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade*’, a refrain that would have been heard 34 times. It is clear that what was being sung was also making a significant point: those participating were not only showing that they had embraced a particular way of belief, but were also expressing themselves what this belief was. There was also something aspirational about these processions: the community was expressing a unity not just amongst themselves, but with the whole of creation which was being named in the *Benedicite*.¹⁰⁷

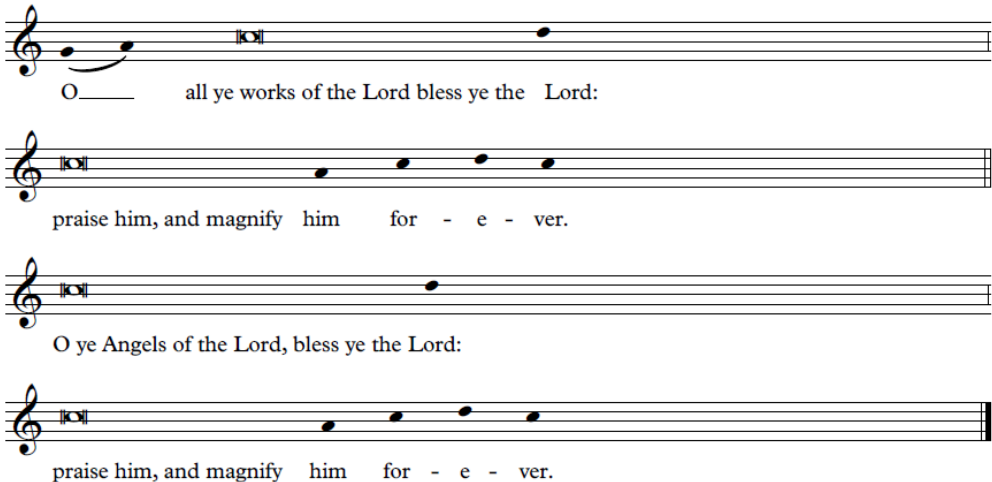
Example 3.1 An imagined reconstruction of the first two verses of the *Benedicite* in English and isiXhosa to two plainchant melodies (5th tone, 1st ending and 8th tone, 2nd ending)

isiXhosa	<p style="text-align: right;">5th tone, 1st ending</p>  <p>No - nke nina misebenzi ye-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nko - si:</p> <p>yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngu - na - pa - ka - de.</p> <p>Nina zingelosi ze-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nko - si:</p> <p>yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngu - na - pa - ka - de.</p>
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¹⁰⁶ The convention was to refer to the canticle as ‘the *Benedicite*’ even if it was not sung in Latin.

¹⁰⁷ Clifford Geertz, *Negara: the theatre-state in nineteenth-century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), also *The interpretation of cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p.113.

English	<p style="text-align: right;">5th tone, 1st ending</p>  <p>O_____ all ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord:</p>  <p>praise him, and magnify him for - e - ver.</p>  <p>O ye angels of the Lord, Bless ye the Lord:</p>  <p>praise him, and magnify him for - e - ver.</p>
isiXhosa	<p style="text-align: right;">8th tone, 2nd ending</p>  <p>No - nke nina misebenzi ye-Nkosi yidumiseni i-Nko - si:</p>  <p>yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngu - na - pa - ka - de.</p>  <p>Nina zingelosi ze-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nko - si:</p>  <p>yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngu - na - pa - ka - de.</p>

English	<p style="text-align: right;">8th tone, 2nd ending</p>  <p>O all ye works of the Lord bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for - e - ver. O ye Angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for - e - ver.</p>
<p>Source for the music: Thomas Helmore, <i>A manual of plainsong</i> (London: Novello, 1850), pp. 8 and 10.</p>	

There are two broader points about the mission soundscape that are illustrated by these processions. The first is that while the soundscape was the construct of British missionaries, it was not only of their making. The vast majority of those taking part were not British and so they highlight the importance of the agency of all those involved. Missionaries reported that the attendance at these festivals could be anything from 85 to 1000. Of course, these figures supported a point that missionaries desperately wanted to make: they were converting people by the hundreds (whether or not that was the case is another matter). Nonetheless, what it shows us is that those who constructed the soundscape were not just British or European. The majority of people doing the singing were indigenous Xhosa people: music needs performers and by sheer weight of numbers, British missionaries were outnumbered by Black African Christians.¹⁰⁸

The second point is ontological and tells us about the changing nature of the cultural signs that were found in the mission soundscape. Everybody reading missionary reports knew what the *Benedicite* was and would have assumed a mental, or imaginative, approximation of its sound when in fact, there were many things that meant it was undergoing mutation and change: it was being sung in a different language by people to whom the tonality and grammar of plainchant was unfamiliar, and even the atmosphere and climate was often

¹⁰⁸ David Spurr, *The rhetoric of empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing and imperial administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 11.

impacting on the way it sounded. This requires us to understand the ontology of the soundscape and its elements as having an essence that was unstable and unfixed.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion: The tuning of the mission soundscape

The Comaroffs have argued that the strategy informing missionary efforts to realign indigenous consciousness would often have involved two things. First, an exposure to the ‘divine truth’ of the narratives of Christianity, and, second, a re-forming of daily habits through a process of argument, ultimately informed by their own missionary, colonizing culture.¹¹⁰ As we have seen in this chapter, the Anglican-Xhosa attempts at re-aligning the soundscape proceeded along the lines of a similar strategy: while proclaiming an evangelistic message, and even in certain cases enabling the expression of faith and belief (as in the case of singing hymns in procession), the auditory signs of mission also functioned to create a change in the habits and routines of the local indigenous population.

A further point to emerge from the discussion concerning all three of the elements of the soundscape, is that the importance of these sounds for missionaries lay not so much in how they sounded, but more in the fact that they sounded in the first place. Substitutes such as the ploughshare spade for a bell, did not sound like the real object, but nonetheless signified in the same way. Likewise, with the processions, the mismatch of isiXhosa text and plainchant melody was not of as great significance as the fact that the sentiment of the text and the ancient melodies were being sounded.

Thus the struggle for the hearts and minds of those encountering what missionaries imported into the soundscape was integral to the process of constructing a mission soundscape. This did not always happen as neatly or as easily as missionaries may have hoped. Sonic signals which bore specific meanings in missionary culture were interpreted in different ways, or given new semantic meanings by indigenous people who had either never encountered such signs before, or were used to interpreting them within the frameworks of their own culture.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Ann Laura Stoler who has noted that has noted of colonial ontologies, ‘such “essences” were protean, not fixed, subject to reformulation again and again.’ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the archival grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation*, p. 199.

Missionaries, then, faced many challenges when it came to how they would elicit the responses they desired from the local population to their sonic signals. To overcome these challenges they needed to devise new strategies. This is where agency, a theme I shall develop further in the following chapters, became important on two counts. The first is that any kind of conversion could not be done on a mass scale, and so individual converts were often identified to be representatives of missionary understandings of what conversion meant, or at least presented as such to the readership of missionaries' reports. The second is presented by the dialectic inherent in mission work. While missionaries required indigenous involvement and participation for their project to succeed, they realised the risk of scrambled messages as indigenous people re-interpreted doctrine and beliefs within their own pre-existing cultural and religious practices. Herein lay the dynamic nature of the soundscape: it was constantly undergoing reinterpretation and reformulation and the ultimate crux was the extent to which missionaries could control the meanings attached to sounds once they had been emitted.

CHAPTER 4 – Mission Education and Music

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the music education of the Anglican-Xhosa missions with reference to the personnel involved and the strategies adopted to teach music. I will show that missionaries placed great evangelistic value on music as an agent of change, and that developing musical literacy was central to this task. Accordingly, I explore how much musical education took place on the Anglican-Xhosa missions by analysing data across a 20-year period (c. 1858-1878) to provide an idea of how a culture of musical education came to be established, and what that culture constituted. As I will show, music education required two basic things: first, teachers, and, second, tonic sol-fa, the pedagogical literacy which was used on missions globally to teach musical literacy.¹ Accordingly, in this chapter I explore who the teachers of music on the Anglican-Xhosa missions were, and how much music education was thought necessary.

Education lay at the heart of mission work wherever it was established.² A tension which has been identified in mission education was how much ‘civilising’ it was meant to bring about in local populations.³ In some contexts, missionaries were criticised for promoting too much book learning as part of their efforts to convert local populations, because it resulted in the removal of the ‘otherness’ of colonised peoples.⁴ Notwithstanding these debates, missionaries had to develop literacy among the local population for two reasons. First, as Christianity was text-based, literacy was a way of differentiating the converted from the unconverted. Those who were ‘of the book’ (a term used to refer to

¹ In his ‘Christianity, Civilization and Music: Nineteenth-Century British Missionaries and the Control of Malagasy Hymnody’, in *Music and theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. by Martin V. Clarke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 79-96, Charles McGuire describes tonic sol-fa as a pedagogical technology.

² Cf. Norman Etherington, *Preachers, peasants and politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland, and Zululand* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), p. 54.

³ Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, ‘Between metropole and colony: rethinking a research agenda’, in *Tensions of Empire: colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*, ed. by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1-58 (p. 7).

⁴ Norman Etherington, ‘Introduction’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1-18 (9-12).

converted Xhosa people) were Christians. Second, converts had to be educated to a certain level to be able to read, for this enabled them to participate in liturgical ceremonies. By examining missionaries' approach to musical education, we can get a sense of how much they felt their converts needed to know.

This chapter is in three parts. I will first outline the broad aims and goals of music education on the Anglican-Xhosa missions to facilitate discussion later on in the chapter about how these were implemented. This will show what missionaries wanted to achieve with music education and how they went about this. The dissemination of music required teaching and instruction, so it necessarily had to be part of the mission educational curriculum. It also involved engineering a shift from a culture of hearing and memory to one of reading. Thus, the second part of the chapter looks at the attempts that were made to this end. In particular, I examine evidence about the teachers themselves, how they taught, and the musical experience and knowledge they had. I will also contextualise music within the curriculum provided in mission schools. In the third section of the chapter I explore the use of tonic sol-fa and its importance to the development of musical literacy. Throughout the chapter I argue that education was a two-way process and that, despite their plans and intentions, in the course of educating missionaries and indigenous teachers themselves were having to adjust in order to meet the requirements of their context.

The aims of mission education

In order to identify some of the aims of mission education, we need first to look at the educational curriculum found on mission stations. Music formed part of a wider strategy of education: to introduce new patterns of behaviour and modes of thinking to indigenous converts. This included new routines and the organisation of time through carefully timetabled school days, of which regular liturgical observances formed a part. As in many other fields of mission along with these organisational strategies came cultural elements, such as new styles of clothing, activities and pastimes, and attempts to rearrange domestic routines.⁵ Finally, there were academic elements, which included literacy and numeracy so

⁵ This was these case in many fields of mission where schools and mission education were used to bring about cultural change in local populations. For a discussion of this in India, see Parna Sengupta, *Pedagogy for religion: missionary education and the fashioning of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. 38.

that pupils could read and write in English as well as their own language. Music straddled these different spheres of mission's educational work as it incorporated the use and introduction of new technologies, relied on a certain level of musical and linguistic literacy, and was also taken as a marker of enculturation and conversion.

Case study: John Gordon's mission

These points are illustrated in the following short case study of John Gordon's mission school at St Mark's which will also provide a sense of how a mission school operated. Taking Gordon's school as a case study will illustrate the place of music in the curriculum of mission schools and the values of the educational system of which music was a part. Gordon provided a profile of his school for an article entitled 'School in Kaffraria' which appeared in the 1 February 1860 edition of *Gospel Missionary*.⁶ The article first showed how missionaries used educational institutions to organise the lives of those who were at the school. The 150 pupils were divided into classes, and the forty-eight boarders were housed in a carefully arranged complex on the mission station (see Figure 4.1). Boarders were assigned a place in one of the thirteen dwelling spaces, each of which had an appointed 'captain', in charge of the occupants' behaviour and neatness. Status was reflected in the different dwellings: the 'first class' had its own dining room ('C'); the catechist had a separate bedroom ('D') as well as dining hut and study ('K'), and the ten boys of the choir had their own hut ('F'). While there is no evidence of any special incentives, financial or otherwise, for the pupils who sang in the choir, a specially marked out hut suggests that they enjoyed some privileges not given to other pupils at the school.

Constant organised activity was a key characteristic of the daily routine of many mission schools around the world, and this was evident on the Anglican-Xhosa mission school.⁷ The regular ringing of the bell, used to mark the times of the day, was a sonic symbol of this. The two most important times of the day, Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, were marked by the ringing of the school bell. At this sound, all were expected to attend chapel. During the ten hours between the two, Gordon stressed that there was only one hour when pupils were not engaged in some activity or another.

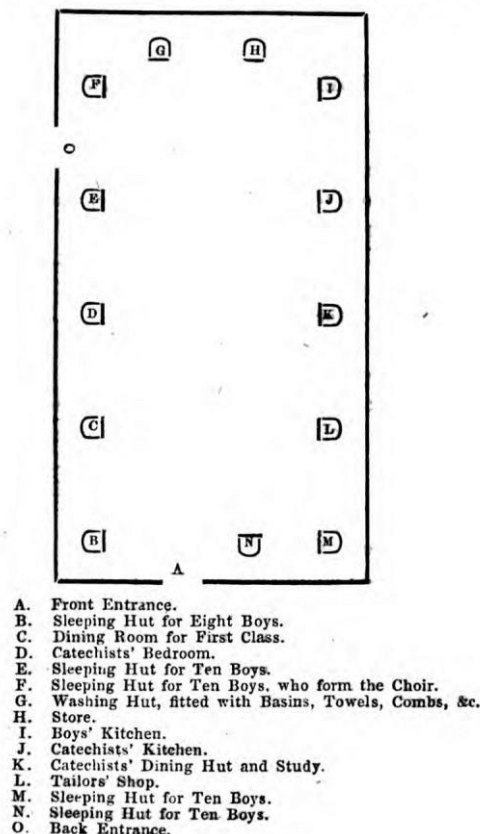
⁶ John Gordon, 'School in Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1860, pp. 23-30.

⁷ Sarah van Ruyskensvelde, Karen Hulstaert and Marc Depaepe, 'The cult of order: in search of underlying patterns of the colonial and neo-colonial "grammar of educationalisation" in the Belgian Congo. Exported school rituals and routines?', *Paedagogica Historica*, 53 (2017), 36-48 (pp. 40-43).

The range of activities in which pupils were encouraged to participate went beyond the routines of church-going. As well as the choir, pupils played games and sports such as hopscotch and cricket. They learnt practical skills such as tailoring and made items of clothing such as caps and coats, as well as haversacks. There were also academic tasks. The morning consisted of 'English' school, with instruction in reading, writing, dictation, English grammar, mathematics, and Geography: this was not an unusual programme of activity.⁸ Pupils were also drilled in multiplication tables, addition and division, and read Aesop's Fables, the Psalms and Scripture. The end of daily instruction did not bring an end to the activities. Gordon related how at night he would often hear the boys singing the Te Deum, "Boyce's double chant" and the 'Gregorian tones' and reciting their multiplication tables. The Te Deum was a significant hymn for Anglicans as it was sung at morning prayer and, as I will show in Chapter 5, was often sung in other services on the Anglican-Xhosa missions.⁹ It can be seen that the educational programme aimed to organise and inform all aspects of mission life and to encourage productivity and intellectual re-organisation.

⁸ For Nigerian examples see (1) Edward H. Berman, 'Christian Mission in Africa', in *African Reactions to Missionary Education*, ed. by Edward H. Berman (New York: Teachers College Press, 1975), pp.1-53, p. 8; and (2) J.F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: the making of a new élite* (London: Longman, 1965), p. 139.

⁹ The Te Deum, usually sung in English as 'We praise thee, O God', was one of the canticles in the Anglican liturgy of Matins, or Morning Prayer. It first appeared in the *Book of Common Prayer* in English translation in 1549 but continued to be known by the first two words of its first line in the Latin Vulgate text. See: J.R. Watson, 'Te Deum', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/t/te-deum>> [accessed 17 September 2019]. Examples of the Te Deum being sung on Anglican-Xhosa missions include: (1) January 1855 C.F. Pascoe *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 298; (2) John Gordon, 'School in Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1860, p. 28; Henry Waters, 'Missions in Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 November 1862, p. 164; (3) USPG E.13 (1862), f. 239: Henry Waters 'Report' 18 December 1862; (4) USPG E.23 (1868), f. 1133: C.F. Patten 'Report' 30 June 1868.

Figure 4.1 Plan of St Mark's Mission School, 1860

Source: *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1860, p. 24

Although there was no mention of classes in music theory or singing, Gordon pointed out that Psalms were used for reading classes, and pupils were taught to memorize Canticles, Hymns, Psalms, the Creed, and Commandments. Most of these would have been sung, and so their inclusion in the curriculum highlights the importance of liturgical texts in and to missionary education. The following comment, made towards the end of the article, provides an indication as to why this might have been the case:

Now, at daily Service, they may be seen, Prayer-book in hand, following the clergyman through the service, and responding in a clear, distinct voice, to the Psalms for the day.

The implication is that those who were educated were in fact equipped with an ability to use the Prayer Book and to respond, in other words take an active part in the liturgy.

This was an important part of mission work elsewhere in the world, where psalms, hymns and Bible texts were taught by S.P.G. missionaries. In Canada, missionaries gave

weekly reading instruction to the local indigenous population using psalms and Bible texts.¹⁰ The attendee would read aloud, and then sing the texts, after which the missionaries would make remarks on what had just been recited. In a report from the Seychelles, a missionary wrote that school girls were given daily reading lessons which involved reading and singing psalms and hymns.¹¹ Using religious texts to develop proficient literacy among converts was, then, a well-established practice among missionaries around the world. Proficiency meant not only an ability to read, but also to sing, as this was important for liturgical participation.

Missionaries were thus able to use music as an example of the educational progress they saw themselves making with their pupils. When Henry Waters reported the opening of a mission school in 1857, music was not only a key feature of the occasion but also a sonic symbol of the physical establishment of the school.¹² The 400 people who assembled joined in singing two psalms, the Lord's Prayer and the collects. The ceremony concluded with the singing of the Gloria, which Waters described as 'a shout of triumph never to be forgotten.' Elsewhere, we see the link between the success of mission schooling and the development of musical ability. William Greenstock noted in 1867 that the twenty-four students at St Matthew's mission school were able to perform 'Mozart's 12th Mass' and choruses from Messiah.¹³ There were other occasions when the results of music education were put on display for visitors such as when the governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Bartle Frere, visited St Matthew's in October 1877.¹⁴ The schoolchildren sang the National Anthem, and the morning service 'was entirely in Kaffir with the exception of one or two English anthems.'

The examples discussed above show that missionaries aimed to achieve an educational trajectory in their schools that resulted in liturgical proficiency in their congregations. This began with the school routine through which pupils would learn new patterns of behaviour and ways of organising time. As has been noted, Christianity was a

¹⁰ See 'Obijwa Mission at Manitoulin, Lake Huron', *The Mission Field*, July 1857, p. 146.

¹¹ See 'Visit to the Seychelles', *The Mission Field*, August 1857, p. 170.

¹² NLSA, MSE 9 (USPG Archives Microform Collection 1819-1900): Henry Waters, 'Report' 7 December 1857.

¹³ On 'Mozart's 12th Mass' see Mark Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the halls of musical culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 133. See also Christopher Cockburn on the history of Messiah and its significance in the South Africa context. Christopher Cockburn, 'The establishment of a musical tradition: meaning, value and social process in the South African history of Handel's *Messiah*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2008).

¹⁴ *The Mission Field*, 1st April, 1878, p. 166.

religion of the book and this made the ability to read and study its texts, both corporately and individually, central to the new Christian identity.¹⁵ Members of the local population who had been through mission education could follow the missionary, be it a clergyman or indigenous catechist. This was important because it demonstrated an important aspect of Christian expression: understanding.¹⁶ Finally, congregational responses demonstrated active participation to missionaries. This in turn suggested an outward sign of an inner change because congregants had ownership of the words, tunes and their meanings.¹⁷

The teachers

Logistically, it was impossible for a missionary to undertake all the teaching required on a mission station. They also lacked the linguistic and cultural knowledge required fully to engage indigenous people in sustained classroom instruction. For these reasons, from early on it became important to recruit and train up converts who were able to take on the task of providing daily tuition in the mission station schools. Furthermore, missionaries were vastly outnumbered by the local population.¹⁸ If they were to have any impact on the local population they would need to have indigenous agents who could engage on cultural and linguistic levels where British missionaries were insufficiently equipped. The sections which follow, therefore, examine the impact that indigenous teachers had on to the task of proselytising through the teaching that they undertook.

What were the teachers teaching?

Most of the teaching appears to have been provided by catechists, whose task it was not just to preach but also to teach. Some of these had British heritage and were not necessarily trained musicians, although music tuition was among one of their expected duties.

¹⁵ Cf. Romans 10.9: 'if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in this heart [...] thou shalt be saved.' It must also be remembered that the Prayer Book, translated into isiXhosa in 1865, provided a resource for church and home use.

¹⁶ See 1 Corinthians 14.15: 'I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with understanding also.'

¹⁷ See Ephesians 5.19: speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord [...] submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of Lord.

¹⁸ It is difficult to provide definitive statistics and numbers. Francis Patrick Flemyng, *Kaffraria, and its inhabitants* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1854), put the population figures of British Kaffraria in 1853 as follows: British: 8000; Xhosa: 80,000.

This can be seen in the example of Langford S. Browne, a British catechist who arrived to work on the missions in 1863.¹⁹ Browne taught on St Mark's mission where he was in charge of teaching one of the six classes in the mission school. His lessons began with instruction in hymn singing, followed by lessons in numeracy and literacy. The lessons were interspersed with singing rounds, in isiXhosa, and learning the Lord's Prayer. He would also sometimes teach hymns in the evenings. Browne's account suggests that music formed a part of the curriculum on mission schools.

The teaching personnel were not only of British heritage. Indigenous teachers were an important part of the team of mission teaching personnel, and their tasks were much the same. Consider the example of Peter Masiza, who taught on St Peter's mission in the late 1860s.²⁰ On his mission, the children would first perform any domestic duties expected of them. This was often milking cattle, the first task of the morning, after which they would attend his classes where they were instructed in the alphabet, and the Lord's Prayer. Hymns were also taught.

Missionaries' reliance on indigenous teachers is evident from the outset. Three years after starting at St Matthew's, William Greenstock had a staff of five working with him. This included a Mrs Sedgley, the matron to the girls' school, and three 'native teachers', Edmund Magada, Paul Masiza and Philip Mlandu.²¹ Of the 'native teachers', Greenstock commented that they 'go on very well, and are earnest and devoted to their work. They are ten times more valuable than any European could be. With a good native Agency under proper direction we cannot fail' a comment that represents the attitudes of missionaries working in other parts of the world at the time.²² Greenstock's qualification, 'proper direction', suggests that missionaries had a specific agenda for what teaching should take place, and how. The comment also highlights the importance missionaries placed on engaging local populations to assist with providing educational instruction. As we shall see later on, it may not always have been possible to monitor the teaching that took place.

¹⁹ Browne provided an account of his work as a visiting catechist in the article L.S. Browne, 'A visit to the Kafir missions', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1st August 1863, pp. 120-8.

²⁰ USPG, E.21 (1867), f. 247: Peter Masiza, 'Report', 18 October 1867.

²¹ USPG, E.4 (1859), f. 75: William Greenstock, 'Report' 31 March 1859.

²² For an example from India see, J.C. Ingleby, *Missionaries, education and India: issues in protestant missionary education in the long nineteenth century* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2000), pp. 363-5.

A profile of the teachers

Table 4.1 shows the teachers who were named in missionary reports for the period 1855-1874.²³ It shows that indigenous teachers far outnumbered those of a European origin or background.²⁴ On a station such as St Matthew's Keiskammahoek, where at one time there were five outstations, each with their own indigenous teacher, there could be up to five indigenous teachers for every British missionary. Statistics provided by missionaries for their stations vary, and were not given consistently, making it difficult to track names and compare numbers over a period of time. Sometimes, the same names also appear in different places telling us that some teachers worked in several locations. Missionaries also did not always distinguish clearly between indigenous African and white (or British) staff.

Table 4.1 Teachers named in USPG reports as teaching music	
British/European Teachers	Local/indigenous Agents
John Gordon ⁺	Daniel Joseph
William Greenstock ⁺	Edmund Magade
Albert Maggs ⁺	Stephen Adonis
Charles Taberer ⁺	Paul(us) Masiza
Miss Bond	H.D. Tshatshu
Miss Stanford	Eleazar Nyovane
Henry Waters ⁺	Rebecca Pamla
Mrs Levey	'Native teachers'
Fred Patten ⁺	Philip Mlandu
Mary Ann Williams	Arthur To[y]ise
Mr Dollar	Woman educated by German missionaries
Langford S. Browne	'Native teacher'
	'Native teacher' (at St Barnabas, mentioned several times)
	Cobus
	Peter Mapassa
	Peter Masiza
	'Native teachers' (up to twelve at St Mark's)
	'Numerous native teachers'
	Native teacher at St Michael's
	Teacher replacing Peter Masiza
	Four native teachers (at St Leonard's, Hohita)
	Alfred (Hlambiso)
	Two native teachers at Fred Patten's station
	Christiana Mazaza
	Joshua Mabingwana
	Mr Dunjani (St Michael's Tsojana)
	Eight native teachers (St Matthew's)
⁺ Denotes a missionary, i.e. a British missionary, usually in Holy Orders, appointed by the S.P.G. to this role.	

²³ These are people named as teaching music as well as (in most cases) other subjects.

²⁴ A caveat, however, is that missionaries did not always refer to indigenous teachers by name, so it is possible that identities were duplicated in successive reports. Nonetheless, I have sorted these names by location, and where a later report provides a name, I have not duplicated this here.

Sometimes the numbers provided were vague. Henry Waters often spoke of the ‘numerous’ teachers he had on his mission. At the end of 1878, however, he simply noted seventy-three (unnamed) teachers in an annual return.²⁵ In 1880, Charles Taberer’s statistics for St Matthew’s, Keiskammahoek showed that the mission was 15 miles in extent, and had working on it (in addition to the missionary) one native deacon, one European teacher, eight native teachers, and pupil or student monitors.²⁶ It is difficult to get a sense of how many indigenous teachers were working at any particular time, but it is safe to conjecture that the numbers of native teachers listed in Table 4.1 fluctuated.

Selection of native teachers

In this section, I provide some background on the indigenous teachers who were known to have worked in Anglican-Xhosa mission schools in order to gauge how much musical knowledge they were required to have. In the absence of a formal qualification for teachers, it is difficult to determine what informed their selection, let alone the extent of their prior musical knowledge and experience. As I shall show, there was no uniformity in either of these spheres as the cases of four indigenous converts who taught on Anglican-Xhosa missions demonstrate. Paulus Masiza, Herman Tshatshu, Arthur Toyise, and Peter Mapassa, all display different levels of musical background and qualifications. Masiza was educated as a child by Moravian missionaries and came to Anglican missions already converted to Christianity. The Moravians sang hymns (they had produced one of the earliest hymnbooks of isiXhosa hymns, see Chapter 5), so it is probable that Masiza had already been exposed to this style of church music making. His exposure to Moravian Christian culture was perhaps sufficient qualification for Anglican mission work, and it is known that the Anglican missions drew on many of the Moravian’s mission strategies.²⁷

Some indigenous teachers had had direct experience of education in Britain. An example is Henry D. Tshatshu who had spent time there. His grandfather, Jan, a chief, had also visited England in 1835 with John Philip of the London Missionary Society.²⁸ Tshatshu

²⁵ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 31 December 1878.

²⁶ Charles Taberer, ‘Report of Mission and Industrial Work for the Year ending 30th September 1880’, *The Church Chronicle*, December 1880, p. 91.

²⁷ Janet K. Hodgson, ‘A History of Zonnebloem College, 1858-1870: a study of church and society’ (unpublished master’s dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1975), p. 535.

²⁸ For Jan Tshatshu’s life see Roger S. Levine, *A living man from Africa: Jan Tzatzoe, Xhosa chief and missionary and the making of nineteenth-century South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

was one of the founding scholars at Zonnebloem College in Cape Town where he was educated from 1858-9, before being sent to England, an educational programme that had been followed by missionaries elsewhere.²⁹ There he studied with a clergyman friend of Bishop Cotterill, Rev. Robert C. Savage, in Nuneaton, before returning to South Africa in 1864. His first teaching job was at the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown. Detailed information about his musical education during his stint overseas is not available, but during the five years he lived in Nuneaton it is certain that he would have been exposed to church music.

A similar case is that of Arthur Toyise who received musical training while he was in Britain, and later taught music on St Augustine's mission.³⁰ He also knew how to play the harmonium; he practised on the voyage back to South Africa in 1864. As a teacher at the Kafir Institute in Grahamstown, he was expected to provide instruction in music and singing (amongst other subjects).³¹ Peter Mapassa, who became a catechist at St Peter's mission, led the singing of hymns, and had a reputation for his ability to engage congregations. Henry Waters commented that when Mapassa gave out the hymns at a baptism service at St Peter's, 'the singing was loud and harmonious, and the candidates seemed fully aware of what they are about.'³² Mapassa's ability to lead the singing was clearly important, but there was also the added benefit that he was the son of a chief, and so had a certain level of standing in the community.³³

Mobility is a noticeable feature of the careers of some indigenous preachers and catechists. One such case is Daniel Mzamo (see Table 4.1) a school pupil to whom William Greenstock had assigned minor teaching responsibilities at St Matthew's. Mzamo assisted

²⁹ Zonnebloem was established in 1855 by Bishop Gray. Sons and daughters of Xhosa chiefs were sent there to be educated. On the practice of establishing schools for the children of chiefs elsewhere: For Senegal, see Philip L. Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 61; For Nigeria, Sonia F. Graham, *Government and mission education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1966); for Sierra Leone, F.H. Hilliard, *A Short History of education in British West Africa* (London, T. Nelson, 1957) and E.D. Baker, *The Development of Secondary Education in Sierra Leone* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 21.

³⁰ Janet Hodgson, 'Kid gloves and cricket on the Kei', *Religion in Southern Africa*, 8:2 (1987), 61-91 (p. 71).

³¹ I have drawn on Hodgson, 'A History of Zonnebloem College', p. 409; p. 442 for this precis.

³² USPG, E.21, f. 207: Henry Waters, 'Report', August 1867.

³³ Henry Waters, 'St. Peter's mission church, British Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 January 1867, p. 13.

with prep supervision and ‘leading the singing.’³⁴ Twelve years later, Greenstock submitted a translated version of a report written by Mzamo.³⁵ In it, Mzamo reported on the activities of his day and evening schools. The school ran from 9 in the morning to 12.30 in the afternoon, and again from 7 to 9 in the evening. The number of pupils attending fluctuated from twenty-one to forty-six day pupils, and twenty ‘young men’ in the evening. The Sunday School consisting of men and women were taught to read Bible texts, and the hymns they sang in church. Indigenous agents who moved around would have been important for transmitting and spreading musical practices across the region.

All indigenous teachers appear to have been expected to provide some musical tuition in mission schools. This was sometimes in conjunction with the missionary. Albert Maggs reported an occasion when teaching was divided between himself and several assistants. After a service, Maggs took a group of men to learn the Lord’s Prayer, while Thomas Makapeal instructed a group of girls in reading, and another two school boys oversaw reading in a class of boys.³⁶ In some places they worked with a British/white teacher at locations quite remote from the main mission site, and without regular or direct supervision from the missionary. This was the case at St Peter’s Mission (part of St Mark’s) where Miss Bond and two indigenous teachers, Peter Mapassa and Peter Masiza, all taught singing.³⁷

In other places, missionaries had to delegate sole teaching responsibility to indigenous teachers as the distances between station and outstation as well as the numbers of pupils often prevented missionaries from undertaking the teaching themselves. In 1861 John Gordon was only making the seven-mile journey to his sole outstation once a month. Daily instruction was provided by ‘a woman resident in the kraal’ who had been educated by Moravian missionaries at Shiloh, and was his first convert to be baptised. Gordon commented that the lady had ‘a very sweet voice’ and taught the twenty-one children ‘to sing very sweetly’.³⁸

While missionaries were mostly positive and full of praise for the work undertaken by the indigenous teachers, it would appear that indigenous teachers did not always conform to

³⁴ USPG, E.9 (1861), f. 341: William Greenstock, ‘Report’, 31st December 1861.

³⁵ USPG, E.29 (1874), f.1671: Daniel Mzamo (trans. William Greenstock), ‘Report’ 30 September 1874.

³⁶ Albert Maggs, ‘Newlands mission, Kaffraria’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 August 1861, p. 124.

³⁷ USPG, E.20 (1863), f. 279: Henry Waters ‘Journal’ 24 March 1863.

³⁸ John Gordon, ‘A mission in Kaffraria’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 September 1861, p. 132, and John Gordon, ‘Bashee Mission’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 March, 1862, p. 43.

the standards expected, if not musically then in their lifestyle. In 1878, Henry Waters lamented that the native teacher, a Mr Dunjani at St Michael's Tsojana, was amongst the few indigenous teachers who lived in a European house with approved furnishings and lifestyle.³⁹ If music was a reflection of other social and cultural changes that were taking place, we can assume that indigenous agents did not deculturate themselves, as they remained in contact, whether musically or in other ways, with local culture and societies who remained non-Christian. Furthermore, beyond expressing disapproval, missionaries could do little to control those who chose not to adapt to the norms of missionary culture. Reading through this missionary disapproval, however, shows that many indigenous agents did not completely shrug off traditional ways. This is an important point as it shows that they moved between a state of being cultural insiders and outsiders.

The system of music education on the Anglican-Xhosa missions relied on indigenous teachers, who were conversant in the cultures and musical systems of both indigenous societies and British missionaries. Their involvement and contribution went alongside and sometimes independently of British missionaries, but if missionaries were to make any progress with teaching their music to local populations it is clear that they needed the support and involvement of such people.

The teaching done by indigenous teachers

In this section I look in more detail at the specific activities of these music teachers in order to show the contributions that indigenous teachers made to mission education. By the 1870s, the practice of delegating responsibility for an outstation school to an indigenous teacher had become widely established. Indigenous agents not only taught music, but also trained choirs and took singing lessons. Often missionaries would suggest that a criterion for an exemplary converted and Christianised local was the ability to sing; choral singing was certainly an important component of the music making on Anglican-Xhosa mission stations. Reporting on a choir competition in 1879, Waters mentioned Alfred Hlambiso whose choir had been entered. Despite not winning, Hlambiso's choir received special mention because, according to Henry Waters,

³⁹ NLSA G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, 'Report', 31 December 1878. See also NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters 'Report', 30 June 1880.

Six months ago the choir were wild red Fingoes,-now they were clothed, could read, were able to sing a four-part anthem, and to enter heartily into the singing of the Hallelujah Chorus.⁴⁰

Alfred had previously been mentioned in a report by Peter Masiza as an assistant teacher leading the chanting at an outstation of St Mark's.⁴¹ The chanting, according to Masiza, was 'well done' and 'very nearly like that of St Mark's.'

It was not just choir training in which indigenous agents were involved during this period: they also continued to play a leading role in liturgy. For example Robert Tshele led congregations in singing chants at services held in villages and kraals.⁴² The choir at St Mary's Ixilingxa had a reputation for singing 'beautifully'.⁴³ Peter Masiza's comments about the choir ('the members have fine sharp voices, and the singing is led by teacher Joshua Mabingwana, who is very proficient in singing') were selected by Henry Waters for inclusion in a quarterly report.⁴⁴ On the surface, Masiza's comments are typical of something a missionary might have said, and reinforce the aesthetic opinions and preferences of British missionaries.

Whatever the musical activity, it can be seen that missionaries involved indigenous Christians as much as possible, often delegating oversight of entire schools to them. To engage school children and converts would have required relating on a level of cultural understanding, as well as demonstrating through themselves an image of what was being offered by mission education. Local agents were uniquely placed to do this, for, while they were converted to Christianity, they remained working in and surrounded by indigenous culture, and, to an extent, were embedded in many of the norms and practices of their indigenous societies. In other words, conversion did not mean deculturation and often converts remained active members of their communities meaning that they often took on a mediatory role between missionaries and non-converts.⁴⁵ The ability to mediate was often their value to missionaries, and no doubt something that they recognised themselves. While

⁴⁰ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Henry Waters, Report', 30 June 1879.

⁴¹ USPG, E.28 (1873), f. 681: Peter Masiza, 'Journal', 22 June 1873.

⁴² USPG, E.28 (1873), f. 699: Henry Waters, 'Journal', 15 August 1873.

⁴³ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Peter Masiza (trans. Henry Waters), 'Report', 31 March 1878.

⁴⁴ NLSA, G.40.d.63: Peter Masiza (trans. Henry Waters), 'Report', 31 March 1878.

⁴⁵ Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the fold: conversion, modernity and belief* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. xi.

they may have been teaching a missionary style of music, they would still have heard, and possibly from time to time participated in, the music belonging to these societies. Thus, it is important to note that in the case of local, indigenous agents the basis of musical instruction lay in the style of their upbringing. Missionaries, on the other hand, were keen to highlight in their reports that local agents were propagating acceptable styles of education and music and exercising their agency through this activity.

Case study of six indigenous teachers

In the following case studies, I draw out some of the ways in which indigenous teachers exercised their agency. I do this by analysing the reports of six teachers, who taught on St Matthew's Mission. A summary, for reference and additional information, is provided in Table 4.2. While all but one were translated by the missionary, William Greenstock, they are nonetheless the only reports in the USPG Archive which provide a detailed account of the work undertaken by indigenous teachers. Furthermore, they are significant because they were written by the teachers themselves.⁴⁶ Read together, these reports (assembled by Greenstock as evidence of a developing native agency) can give a sense of the grassroots challenges and tensions faced in mission educational work.⁴⁷ They can also help us to understand the dynamics which surrounded the teaching undertaken by indigenous missionaries on Anglican-Xhosa missions as they give a sense of the influence that the context in which teaching took place had on mission education and music making.

⁴⁶ The reports were included with William Greenstock's Quarterly Report for 31 March 1865 found at USPG, E.17 (1865), f. 145.

⁴⁷ Gareth Griffiths has analysed the conversion narratives of indigenous Christians in West Africa in the 1870s and 1880s. See his "'Trained to Tell the Truth": Missionaries, Converts, and Narration', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 153-172 (p. 153) where he notes that, despite these writings being filtered through missionary amanuensis, such texts were a means through which indigenous Christians could communicate their own views and experiences.

Table 4.2 Indigenous teachers, St Matthew's Mission, 1865			
Name	Place	Number of pupils	Subjects taught
Henry D. Tshatshu ⁴⁸	Gwiligwili (distance from main station: five miles)	26	
Daniel Joseph	St Matthew's (main station)	10-15	Singing (Tonic Sol-Fa) Numeracy skills English reading Kafir reading Dictation & Writing
Stephen Adonis	St Matthew's (main station)	[n/a]	English reading Kafir reading Scripture History Arithmetic Catechism Singing
Paulus Masiza	Gxulu (distance from main station: six miles)	95 registered, but 20 regular	English writing Kafir writing Scripture Geography Natural History Hymns Commandments
Eleazar Nyovane	Cata (distance from main station: 9 miles)	[n/a]	Alphabet English Kafir Bible reading Numeracy
Rebecca Pamla	Rabula (distance from main station: 12 miles)	17	Sums Spelling

The five men and one woman taught at schools between three and five miles away from the main station, St Matthew's, Keiskammahoek (see map, p. xi). Of the six, two taught at the main station, alongside the missionary and the other staff at the mission, while four were lone teachers on outstation schools. Where pupil numbers were provided, these show that the size of each school varied, and attendance was determined, as I shall show, by factors that often lay outside of the teachers' control.

Daniel Joseph taught at St Matthew's mission. His report focussed entirely on what the children were learning, and he began with a description of the morning routine. A bell was rung at 8.30am after which the day's teaching began with sol-fa notes. This was followed

⁴⁸ A 'Tshatshu' whose first name was Hermon, was later named as a schoolmaster at Kwembulana. See USPG, E.25 1870, f. 1237: Henry Waters, 'Report', 4 April 1870.

by numeracy, and then reading, which alternated daily between isiXhosa and English. The final activity of the morning was composition in which the pupils were encouraged to write accounts ‘concerning things they have seen.’ The beginning of the afternoon session was also marked by the ringing of a bell, followed by dictation and a continuation of the morning composition exercise. The final activity of the day involved a revision of the morning’s singing exercise. Joseph said that he would address the children by saying:

So now because you are leaving, let us hear what you have preserved of what you were told about Music; when I say so I say ‘Let the notes be sung,’ and they sing nicely better [*sic.*] than they sang in the morning.

Stephen Adonis, who also taught at the main mission station, followed a similar routine. Reading and writing came first in the morning, alternating daily between English and Kafir. The latter part of the morning was occupied with writing names of people from the Bible. The afternoon was handed over to arithmetic and concluded with singing. On Fridays, Adonis taught catechism which he believed to be an important activity. As he noted, ‘it should be a law in my school that it should be learnt on Friday every week.’

Most of Paulus Masiza’s report provided an account of the state of Christianity in the village where he worked. His mission commenced in 1858 amongst a local tribe who ‘lived without hearing the word of God, and without the teaching of its children in school.’ His teaching involved some music as he taught the children hymns, a genre with which he would have become familiar during his own education on a Moravian mission station. Masiza’s teaching appears to have been aimed at rectifying this as he emphasised ‘the Commandments of God and other little things which ought to be learnt by children.’ The progress of learning had been slow: Masiza observed there were only ten baptised adults and eight children who were Christians. There had also been a decrease in numbers attending school; and children did not have the correct type of clothing. As at the main station the children were taught reading and writing in both English and Kafir and received instruction in scientific subjects. Masiza was left to deal with these challenges on his own: he was also required to preach on Sundays, and the missionary only visited once a month.

Tshatshu’s account was more positive, as he began by stating that his school was ‘in a very promising state.’ He gave no details about what he taught, except that there were 26 pupils in the school, who he described as ‘attentive’ and ‘obedient’. He pointed out that the locals who were unconverted were sympathetic with what he was doing, particularly that his school was providing discipline for children. This did not mean, however, that the routine of

the school had fitted in with the villagers' pattern of life. He noted that attendance depended on when children were needed to help with activities such as harvesting crops or performing domestic chores.

Eleazar Nyovane's report also mentioned the impact on the operation of his school made by local routines and customs that continued to be observed after the mission school had been established. The morning session had to end at a certain time so that the girls could assist with milking cattle. Routines, such as milking cattle, which took place outside the school appear to have often resulted in a hiatus in the school day. Peter Masiza, for example, began teaching his classes only after the milking had been completed.⁴⁹ Factors outside the school which affected how it ran were not just routine but also political. The establishment of Nyovane's school also needed the agreement of the local chief and his counsellors, a requirement that many missionaries around the world needed to fulfil in order to establish their missions.⁵⁰ Nyovane's pupils appeared to travel in to school, rather than him going out to teach on the kraals. This meant that he could not reach all the children in his area. Of his twenty pupils only the two that had previous education from other missionaries were making noticeable progress. Like the other teachers, he taught numeracy and literacy, but he did not mention music. Although it does not mention teaching music, what Nyovane's report shows is that schools, and the curriculum and subjects taught in them, were shaped by the life that was taking place around them.

Finally, Rebecca Pamla described in her report the experiences from her short teaching career. She had only begun working on the mission school in January 1865, and so her report provided a description of the village and surrounding area, and the activities of the local people, which seemed mainly concerned with agriculture. At the time of writing she had managed to recruit seventeen children to the school. While certain routines appeared to have already been instilled in the children, such as the meaning of the bell ringing at the start of the day, she noted that some pupils were struggling to retain what they were being taught.

Several points about the role of indigenous teachers emerge from these reports. In the first place, we can see that missionaries were, in fact, entrusting teachers with a significant amount of responsibility both for teaching specific subjects and the day-to-day operation of the schools. From a musical point of view, these reports confirm that the work of music

⁴⁹ USPG, E.21 (1867), f. 247: Peter Masiza, 'Report', 18 October 1867.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of similar examples from elsewhere in Africa, see Edward H. Berman, 'Christian Missions in Africa', *African Reactions to Missionary Education*, ed. by Edward H. Berman (New York: Teachers College Press, 1975), pp.1-53 (p. 25).

education was not up to missionaries alone but was shared or exclusively the responsibility of indigenous teachers. Three of the five explicitly mentioned teaching music. Tshatshu, as was pointed out earlier, was known to have musical ability and so likely taught some music as well in his school. Moreover, the agents not only oversaw recruitment, timetabling, and other logistical matters, but also taught subject content. They appear to have been given some freedom to make decisions about what parts of the curriculum ought to receive attention. For example, Adonis felt that the catechism was an important thing to teach, while Masiza placed emphasis on learning the Commandments. Masiza's comment about what children 'ought' to know suggests a strong conviction about what he thought it meant to be a converted Christian. On this level of decision making, agents exercised individual agency and influence over mission education.

A common theme that emerges from these reports, particularly those of the teachers who taught remotely from the mission station, was the struggle to change the routines of the local population so that they synchronised with the daily pattern of the school. Change was motivated largely on a personal level: it came from teachers' own conversion experiences and the desire to share this with the local population who were still their kinsfolk. Like indigenous missionary agents in other parts of the world, that they were prepared to live and work in isolation, as well as place themselves among kinsfolk who did not all share their new religious convictions, shows a degree of resolve.⁵¹

Andrew Porter has observed that wherever Christianity (and by extension Christian culture) encountered indigenous societies, there occurred 'a constant process of mutual engagement and two-way translation.'⁵² There were several ways that this played itself out in the work of these indigenous teachers. First, indigenous agents were imparting their understanding of Christianity, filtered through their own cross-cultural experience. Furthermore, as they continued to live in indigenous societies, they occupied a unique position on account of their linguistic and cultural knowledge of both worlds of traditional, pre-Christian life, and that which the missionaries desired to see adopted by the local population. Indigenous teachers were, therefore, important intermediaries between missionaries and local communities. This go-between position was a further way in which

⁵¹ For a discussion of example from Uganda see Louise M. Pirouet, *Black evangelists: the spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914* (London: Collings, 1978), p. 195-8.

⁵² Andrew Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', in *The Oxford history of the British Empire, volume 3, the nineteenth century*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 222-46 (p. 239).

agency was exercised as they made decisions based on their knowledge of local customs and practices and how best to relate what they taught.

At the same time, as these reports demonstrate, indigenous agents continued to be shaped by their home cultures, and were required constantly to mediate and negotiate between them and their newly-adopted Christian culture and beliefs.⁵³ This is not to speak of their pupils, many of whom would have returned to their traditional way of life outside of school hours. Factors such as established community routines also had a bearing on determining things such as school hours. This shows that they were mediating between mission and indigenous cultures. Indeed, we see that the traditional ways of life impacted on the school routine, something that was not unusual in mission elsewhere.⁵⁴

‘With a good native agency under proper direction we cannot fail’⁵⁵

The involvement of indigenous agents in the wider educational programme of the Anglican missions, including music, tell us several things. The first is that missionaries were aware that they needed to enlist the help of willing indigenous agents to assist with educational work. Secondly, a good amount of the impetus for educational work came from the enthusiasm of indigenous Christians themselves who wanted to be involved in sharing their new-found way of life with their fellow country folk. This ambition was realised, to some degree, by their becoming teachers on mission schools. Finally, education has shown us that missionary culture could not have been established through a simple process of transplantation, but needed to be adjusted to the routines and needs of local communities, with the help of local people on the ground. Of the six indigenous agents who taught at St Matthew’s, only one had first-hand experience of metropolitan culture and music, the point being that the culture and practices of British missionaries known by indigenous agents had already been mediated at a remove from the ‘original’.⁵⁶ Much education, including music,

⁵³ For studies that confirm similar cases elsewhere, see Susan Neylan, *The heavens are changing: nineteenth-century protestant missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), p. 130, and Peel, *Religious encounter and the making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana, 2000), p. 589.

⁵⁴ For an example see Geoffrey M. White, *Identity through history: living stories in a Solomon Islands society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 108, and Jay Miller, *Tsimshian Culture: a light through the ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 143.

⁵⁵ USPG, E.4 (1859), f. 75: William Greenstock, ‘Report’, 31 March 1859.

⁵⁶ Peggy Brock, ‘New Christians as Evangelists’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 132-152 (p. 150).

therefore, often lay beyond the purview of the supervising British missionaries and was carried out in ways that they were unable to control.

For British missionaries a tension existed between the need to involve indigenous teachers as an effective means to engage local populations, and the awareness that certain cultural knowledge would be passed on having been mediated, or newly interpreted, through an additional cultural layer. Put another way, the fact that indigenous educators were understanding evangelisation work was a positive sign of the advance of mission, as a free-standing, self-replicative church was the aim of mission. On the other hand, it had to be accepted by British missionaries that for the most part this was being done by teachers who had learnt British culture from a remove. Missionaries were creating converts not necessarily in their own image, but rather an image shaped by the local context, for a successful agent was an intermediary; one who was able to express the culture and beliefs of mission Christianity, while also not removed from her or his original society.

Teaching musical literacy

The contribution of indigenous teachers was one means of involving converts in the programme of mission education. The wider goals of the musical component of this education was literacy, as converts were taught to both practice missionary musical forms and understand their significance. Furthermore, the importance given to musical literacy was a result of the program of education initiated by missionaries to move the local population from an oral- to a print-based literacy. As noted above, literacy, musical and otherwise, was an important marker used by missionaries to create difference between the converted and the unconverted.⁵⁷ Viewed in this way, systems of musical notation (such the sol-fa notation, which I shall examine below) were for missionaries a means to demonstrate transformation in the local population at a musical, cultural and religious level that were brought through mission work. Such efforts at developing musical literacy were, therefore, aimed at reforming and controlling cultural expression and were realised not only in church services, but also, as we saw earlier, in events such as concerts when pupils and local converts participated in the conventions of British musical performance.

⁵⁷ A point made by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), p. 244.

Sol-Fa: two methods

From the mid-nineteenth century, sol-fa methods were exported from Britain by missionaries and used to teach musical literacy in many fields of mission.⁵⁸ There were regular reports on sol-fa and its use in overseas mission work in *The Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter*.⁵⁹ It was popular in mission work not only because it was the system of musical literacy most widely used in nineteenth-century Britain, but was also particularly popular in the missionary movement as a means for teaching musical literacy.⁶⁰ Sol-fa had strong associations with religious music. Both the main sol-fa methods were developed specifically to improve congregational singing in Britain.⁶¹ This made them suited to the homophonic style of hymn singing used on missions, a style that had one note per syllable and a limited rhythmic range which could easily be notated in sol-fa notation. Another attraction was that their use made it possible to teach large groups of pupils all at once and without needing to teach a new system of symbols for musical notes, and, as each utilised alphabet letter names, they were a further means to amplify alphabetical literacy.

There were two main systems of sol-fa. In simple terms, sol-fa methods assign a letter name (doh, ray, mee, etc, often abbreviated to ‘d’, ‘r’, etc) to the notes of the diatonic scale.⁶² Example 4.1 shows how a melody was notated in both staff and sol-fa notation. In nineteenth-century Britain, several sol-fa methods were developed as a means to teach musical literacy. Sol-fa teaching was first pioneered by Sarah Glover (1785-1867), who taught classes to sing using alphabet letter names for the notes of the scale, and published *Scheme for Rendering Psalmody Congregational* (London: Jarrold & Sons, 1845). The method grew in popularity in Britain because of its mass appeal and quick success rate.

⁵⁸ For example, Charles McGuire discusses its importance in both at Britain and in Madagascar. See his *Music and Victorian philanthropy: the tonic sol-fa movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁵⁹ See Jane Southcott, ‘Missionaries and Tonic Sol-fa music pedagogy in 19th-century China’, *International Journal of Music Education*, 26:3 (2008), 213-228.

⁶⁰ See McGuire, ‘Christianity, Civilization and Music’, pp. 86-7.

⁶¹ For more detail on Tonic Sol-Fa in Britain and the aims of its movement see Jeffrey Brukman, ‘Negotiating tonic sol-fa and staff notation: two South African perspectives’, *Muziki*, 13 (2016), 152-67 (p. 152-3).

⁶² For a fuller account of the sol fa methods discussed below, see Bernarr Rainbow, *The land without music: musical education in England, 1800-1860 and its continental antecedents* (London: Novello, 1967). Although over 50 years old, this provides a richly detailed discussion of the development of sol fa methods in Britain. A more recent account can be found in Charles McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy*, pp. 8-29.

Around the same time, a similar method was developed by John Hullah, who we encountered in Chapter 1 as a schoolmaster at St Mark's Chelsea. Hullah's method became widespread in Britain because of an endorsement by the Committee of Council on Education and was used to teach music to children in all National Schools. Meanwhile John Curwen (1816-1880) had, since the 1840s, been working on an adaptation of Sarah Glover's method. Curwen's system turned into a mass movement with tens of thousands attending workshops.⁶³

Example 4.1 John Curwen's example of a melody in F major written in staff and tonic sol-fa notation.



Source: John Curwen, *Tonic sol-fa* (London: Novello, [19--?]), p. 4.

For a while, Hullah's and Curwen's systems which both used the alphabet letter system to name the notes of the scale (doh-ray etc.), were equal in popularity. The fundamental difference between the two systems, however, was that in Hullah's system doh was always C, meaning that modulation to other keys was impossible. Curwen distinguished his system from Hullah's as being capable of operating in different keys, hence the name 'Tonic Sol Fa'. The ability to modulate allowed for a much greater range of repertoire.⁶⁴ Both Hullah's and Curwen's systems were used concurrently in Britain until the 1860s, when Curwen's system had caught up in popularity with Hullah's, and eventually surpassed it entirely.⁶⁵

Sol-Fa in South Africa

A definitive history of sol-fa methods and their introduction into South Africa is yet to be written.⁶⁶ While the first Anglican-Xhosa mission report to mention using a sol-fa method

⁶³ McGuire, 'Christianity, Civilization and Music', p. 87.

⁶⁴ Bernarr Rainbow, *The land without music: musical education in England, 1800-1860 and its continental antecedents* (London: Novello, 1967), p. 146.

⁶⁵ On the competition between Curwen and Hullah, see Rainbow, *The Land Without Music*, p. 154-5.

⁶⁶ There are several studies in which sol-fa, in its different forms have been mentioned. See: (1) Robin Stevens and Eric Akrofi, 'South Africa: Indigenous roots, cultural imposition and an uncertain future', in *The origins and foundations of music education: international*

was in 1857 (see Table 4.3), it is likely that the method was already in use on Anglican-Xhosa missions, and that it had been introduced to pockets of the local population by other teachers. Outside the Anglican-Xhosa missions, it is difficult to set an exact date for when the system was first introduced to the region by British immigrants. Christopher Birkett (largely on account of his own claim) is credited as being the first to have taught using the method.⁶⁷ Birkett arrived in South Africa in 1851 and taught in schools around the Eastern Cape region, although it is not clear whether he was directly involved with Anglican missions.⁶⁸

Another credited pioneer was Thomas Daines (1829-1880), a dentist who immigrated to South Africa and worked in a hospital in King William's Town.⁶⁹ Daines, who had learnt sol-fa in Britain by attending the singing classes of G.W. Martin (a leading figure in the nineteenth-century choral scene), taught the method to various choirs in the Eastern Cape region during the 1860s. Daines appears to have had a connection with St Matthew's Keiskammahoek and taught there, although he is not named in any missionary reports.⁷⁰ This sets the use of Tonic Sol-Fa in instructing indigenous congregations and schools as beginning sometime between 1851 and the early 1860s. The Anglicans reported using either Hullah or Curwen from 1857; this makes them one of the earliest missionary groups to have used sol-fa methods in their music instruction.

This context shows that sol-fa, in both its forms, was a popular method of teaching music education. It was not only a means to teach musical literacy, but also had strong associations with religious musical making and ideology. It had, furthermore, already been

perspectives, ed. by Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 256-70 (pp. 260-4); (2) Christine Lucia, ed., *The world of South Africa music: a reader* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005); and (3) Robin S. Stevens, 'Tonic Sol-fa: an exogenous aspect of South African musical identity', in *Music and identity: transformation and negotiation*, ed. by Eric Akrofi, et al (Stellenbosch: AfricanSun Media, 2007), pp. 37-52. Tonic Sol-Fa's use declined in Britain from the early part of the twentieth century and is now hardly used, or known, at all. By contrast, black congregations in South Africa have continued to make use of the system. For instance, the full music edition of the Anglican hymnbook currently in use by Xhosa speakers is only available in Tonic Sol-Fa notation.

⁶⁷ Birkett was trained in Hullah's system, but later adopted and taught using Curwen's. See NLSA, MSB 745 1(5): Cristabel Edwards, 'Christopher Birkett: Biographical Note'.

⁶⁸ J.P. Malan, 'Grahamstown', in *South African Music Encyclopedia*, ed. by J.P. Malan, 4 vols (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1982), II, p. 130.

⁶⁹ C.G. Henning, 'Daines, Thomas', *South African Music Encyclopaedia*, ed. by J.P. Malan, 4 vols (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1979) I, p.

⁷⁰ William Greenstock may have been referring to Daines when he wrote about 'Lay-Helpers [...] whom we have hitherto been obliged to employ.' USPG, E.21 (1867), f. 181: William Greenstock, 'Report', 31 March 1867.

used in the Eastern Cape, so it would seem natural that Anglican-Xhosa missionaries, many of whom would have been schooled in sol-fa in Britain, would adopt this as their method of teaching musical literacy.

Sol-fa on the Anglican-Xhosa missions

There is evidence that soon after the establishment of Anglican-Xhosa missions sol-fa methods and notation were used by missionaries. This is summarised in Table 4.3. These missionaries and teachers either explicitly mentioned using a sol-fa method, or referred to other missionaries who were doing so. While only mentioned infrequently it is clear that the system was widely used, and the locations from which these reports came shows that its use was diffused over a large area. As several of the missionaries moved around and worked on different stations, they would either have introduced the method, or continued the teaching method used by their predecessor(s). The earliest reported use of a sol-fa method on an Anglican-Xhosa mission was in 1857 at the ‘Kafir School’ in Grahamstown where the children sang ‘notes according to Hullah’s system’.⁷¹ After this, as Table 4.3 indicates, references to the use of sol-fa methods are made intermittently in missionary reports, but taken as a whole suggest that use of the method was widespread as part of music instruction.

Table 4.3 Missionaries who taught music using sol-fa -based methods			
Date reported	Missionary/Teacher	Station	System named as
February 1857	[unnamed]	Kafir School, Grahamstown	‘Hullah’s system’
31 December 1862	William Greenstock/Charles Taberer	St Luke’s East London, St Matthew’s, Keiskammahoek	‘Tonic Sol-Fa System’
13 April 1865	Daniel Joseph	St Matthew’s Keiskammahoek	‘notes which are called solfa’
31 December 1868	Charles Taberer	Trinity Mission, Fort Beaufort; St Matthew’s, Keiskammahoek	‘Curwen’s Method’ ‘Tonic Solfa’
17 December 1869	John Gordon	All Saints, Bashee, St Mark’s	‘the Tonic Sol Fa System’
1 January 1874	Fred Patten	St John’s Bolotwa	‘Tonic Sol Fa’

⁷¹ E.W., ‘A letter from South Africa’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1858, p. 31.

It is difficult to determine how missionaries learned and became familiar with each system, but it should be noted that reports from 1862 mention ‘Curwen’ or ‘Tonic’ sol –fa rather than ‘Hullah’. This suggests that the process of replacing Hullah with Curwen, which we saw took place in Britain, happened in the mission field also. A likely explanation is that the first generation of missionaries were schooled in Hullah’s method, but as later generations of missionaries more familiar with Curwen’s sol-fa arrived, Hullah’s system was supplanted. William Greenstock and Charles Taberer provide good examples of this phenomenon. Greenstock arrived in the 1850s and had received his schooling in the 1840s, probably from Hullah himself at St Mark’s, Chelsea (see Chapter 1). Charles Taberer, who arrived in the 1860s and worked on Greenstock’s mission, used Curwen’s system. Greenstock noted of his 19-year old catechist in a report of 1862: ‘Mr Taberer has paid particular attention to the singing, and considering that he commenced in July last to teach them the Tonic Sol-Fa System the progress made has been remarkable.’⁷² He went on to outline the success of Taberer’s use of the method: ‘The scholars gave a concert on Dec. 17th. They performed a number of pieces (eight sacred and fifteen secular) without a single hitch.’ Six years later in 1868 Taberer himself wrote that for his thirty school pupils, ‘their great delight is in singing, which they are taught daily by Curwen’s method.’⁷³ This illustrates the shift from Hullah’s sol-fa to Curwen’s.

Whatever the method that was used, sol-fa was important for missionaries as it became a sign of merit through which productivity and change in the local population could be measured.⁷⁴ John Gordon noted in a report of 17 December 1869 that ‘even very little children could sing from sight from the Tonic Sol Fa System.’⁷⁵ The ability to sing at sight meant that new repertoire could be learned and added and missionaries such as Fred Patten soon claimed to have his congregations using hymnbooks notated with tonic sol-fa.⁷⁶ Singing at sight, therefore, had similar value to reading at sight and fluently, especially if the process involved displaying an ability to link alphabetical letters with particular sounds, or notes of the scale, as was required for fluency in sol-fa. But the increased repertoire of hymns meant

⁷² USPG, E.13 (1862), f.159.

⁷³ USPG, E.24 (1868), f. 1215.

⁷⁴ On the relation between productivity, society and music, see John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), p. 9.

⁷⁵ USPG, E.25 (1869), f. 1171: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 19 November 1869.

⁷⁶ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1705: Fred Patten, ‘Report’, 31 March 1874.

that congregations were able to express and engage with a greater range of texts: singing more hymns, in turn, meant engaging with new texts and new ideas.

Memorisation was a by-product of the regular routine of mission education. Pupils were first taught to memorise the texts they needed to know. John Gordon wrote on 2 January 1858: ‘one hour is occupied in teaching them to repeat psalms, portions of the Scripture & Hymns from memory.’⁷⁷ This was because converts who displayed the ability to commit texts and tunes to memory were seen to inspire other converts. One indigenous convert, John Ziqu had memorised psalms, hymns and passages of Scripture, and could repeat the Commandments. His proficiency at memorising these texts was seen as important by missionaries for the example it set to the other school pupils. His obituary in *The Gospel Missionary* noted, that Ziqu was ‘heard [...] giving them [responses to the Ten Commandments] out in the hut of which he was in charge at night, to the boys under his care, who would chant the response after he had concluded his Commandment.’⁷⁸ But eventually missionaries aimed to move their congregations away from reliance on memory to proficiency in forms of written musical literacy.

Printing and Sol-Fa: Amaculo ombedesho

Having established that sol-fa was the system of musical literacy used by missionaries, in this section I look specifically at how it was used to enable congregations to sing. The ability to print enabled missionaries to disseminate the musical material they wished their educational programme to impart, and the aim of this was, primarily, to encourage congregants to sing. As Elizabeth Eistenstein argued in her analysis of the printing revolution in early modern Europe, the two most important benefits of printing were that material could be standardised, and also disseminated over a large area.⁷⁹ In the discussion which follows, I am interested in identifying similar effects on mission stations and applying these to a musical, singing public. Accordingly, I argue that print had on not only affected the way that people learnt music, but also how they made music, and I make some suggestions as to what this shows about what missionaries wanted their musical education to achieve.

⁷⁷ NLSA, MSE 9, USPG Archives microform collection 1819-1900: John Gordon, ‘Report’, 2 January 1858.

⁷⁸ J.G., ‘Memoir of John Ziqu, a Kafir boy’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1859, p. 28.

⁷⁹ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

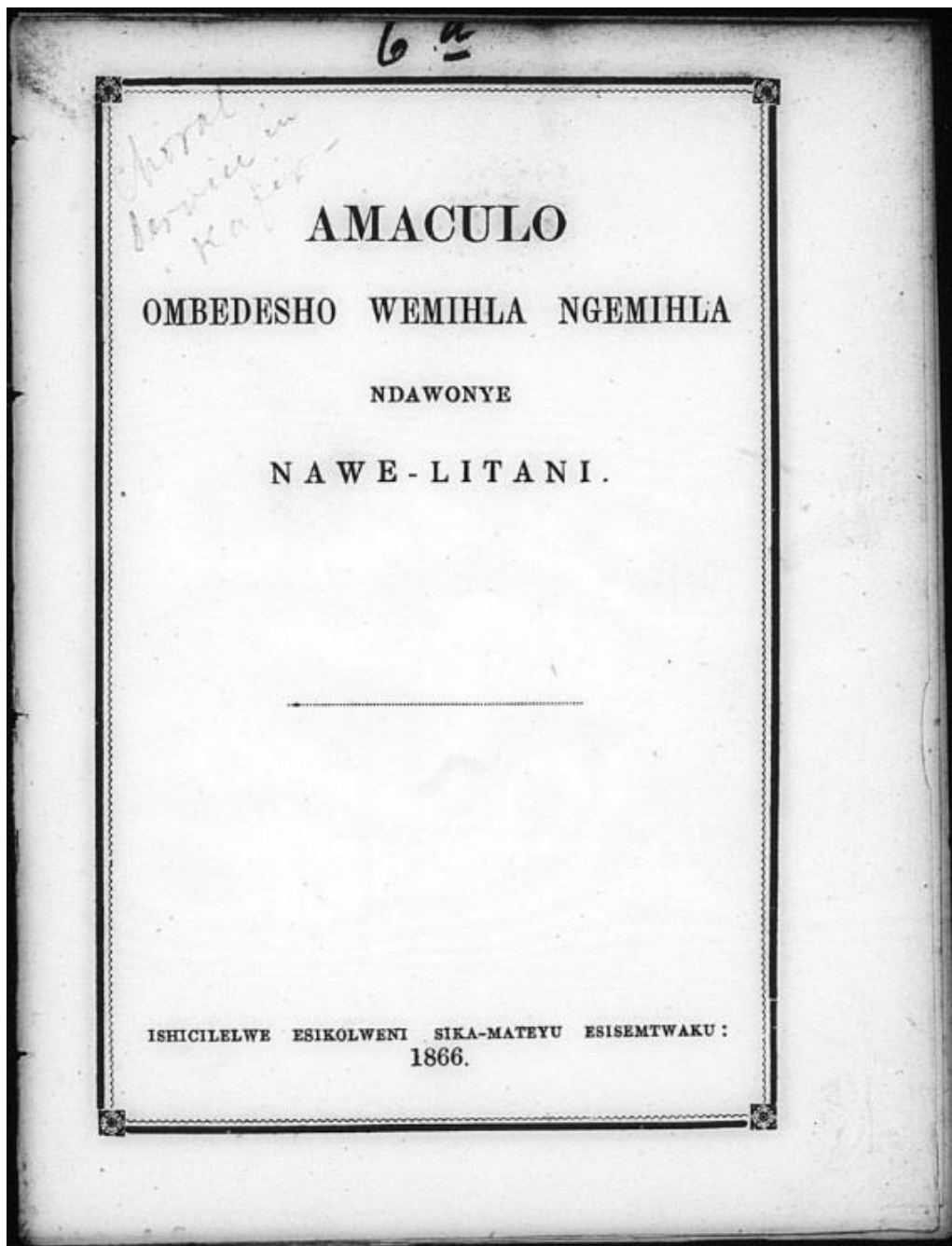
Apart from missionaries mentioning in reports that they used sol-fa methods, there is not much evidence of sol-fa printing. The only significant piece of printing available from the 1860s containing both text and music (in tonic sol-fa format) is a pamphlet called ‘*Amaculo Ombedesho Wemihla Ngemihla Ndawonye nawe-Litani*’ (hereafter ‘*Amaculo ombedesho*’) published at St Matthew’s Mission in 1866 (Figure 4.2).⁸⁰ Its title translates as ‘Music for Daily Prayer together with the Litany’, indicating that it was intended for daily use, and it contained the isiXhosa texts for the principal daily liturgies of the *Book of Common Prayer*: Morning and Evening Prayer (‘*Umbedesho wemihla ngemihla*’) and the Litany (‘*I-Litani*’). Appendix C (p. 265) shows how these texts were printed alongside tonic sol-fa notation of the music to which they were sung. In nineteenth-century Britain, it became normal practice to have Anglican service books with words and music printed together.⁸¹ *Amaculo ombedesho* was, then, a local version of a type of pamphlet that was being routinely printed in Britain at the same time.⁸²

⁸⁰ USPG, Pamphlets, 14861.

⁸¹ Nicholas Temperley, *The music of the English parish church*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), I, p. 290.

⁸² Two of many examples are (1) Richard Strutt (ed.), *The responses of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Novello, 1888), and (2) Joseph Barnby, *The Preces and Responses with Litany according to Tallis arranged for four voices (Tonic solfa edition)* (London: Novello, 1897).

Figure 4.2 Title page of *Amaculo Ombedesho* (1866)



The booklet is evidence that missionaries wanted their congregations to be proficient in tonic sol-fa and with print this would have been easily achievable. The practical advantages for missionaries of sol-fa can be seen in the examples in Appendix C (p. 265):

tonic sol-fa did not require specialised, or musical, type, nor the specially-trained personnel required to work with such types.⁸³ There was no need for clef signs, key signatures, different types of notes, and the printing of staves. Only type for alphabet letters and punctuation were required, which mission printing presses would already have had. *Amaculo ombedesho* could, therefore, have been produced with relative ease.

Amaculo ombedesho also encouraged participation, and made it clear how people were to participate, as the parts for the congregation were marked out. In the Anglican Church of the nineteenth century there was a drive to encourage involvement from the people, and singing was a means to realise this aspiration. As an 1846 article in *The Parish Choir* observed, ‘the intention and direction of the Church plainly is, that all the congregation should actually take a part in the service.’⁸⁴ It was an established Anglican principle that the people were meant to participate, not least vocally, in the liturgy. *Amaculo ombedesho* was also known by the name ‘Choral Service’ (see Figure 4.2) and this tells us that the pamphlet was used for rendering the service chorally, or to music, and while this was generally understood as a service sung by a priest, choir and congregation, it also had a broader meaning and significance. As explained in *The Parish Choir*:

By choral service is meant the mode of celebrating the public service by both priest and people, in which they sing all portions allotted to each respectively, so as to make it one continued psalm of praise, confession, thanksgiving, supplication, and intercession from beginning to end.⁸⁵

It is in this context that *Amaculo ombedesho* needs to be considered: as a printed resource to encourage participation. A ‘choral service’, therefore, denoted participation of not just choir but also congregation. As we have already seen, an important end of mission education was to equip converts to participate in the liturgy. I now turn to look at the contents of the two sections found in *Amaculo ombedesho* and compare these with contemporary Anglican

⁸³ Denis Carew, ‘The consumption of music’, *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music*, ed by in Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 237-58 (p. 250).

⁸⁴ ‘Plain Rules’, *The Parish Choir; or Church Music Book*, September 1846, p. 57.

⁸⁵ ‘Conversations on the choral service’, *The Parish Choir; or Church Music Book*, May 1846, p. 26.

service booklets. I will show that this genre was, by design, one that encouraged participation through its call-and-response structure, and the repetitions which comprised its form.

The Responses

Mission education was aimed at getting congregations to participate in services and a lot of time was spent teaching liturgical texts and music so that congregations were active participants in the liturgy. William Greenstock, for example, noted in 1859 that his congregation ‘make the responses very correctly’ meaning that it was important his congregations knew what to sing and when in the service.⁸⁶ Making the correct responses indicated regular attendance which in turn demonstrated that people were becoming proficient in and knowledgeable about liturgical practices. John Gordon in 1860 wrote ‘the people who attend are now beginning to make the necessary responses during service.’⁸⁷ Making the correct responses did not just mean knowing what to say and when but was also a sign of understanding, and, in the case of using *Amaculo ombedesho*, literacy.

An ability to read meant that the pamphlet could be used, which in turn meant that users would be guided through the service. The first section of *Amaculo ombedesho* contained the music for the responses at Morning Prayer (‘Matins’) and Evening Prayer (‘Evensong’).⁸⁸ Appendix D (p. 266) contains a table showing the texts with an English translation. The letters correspond to Appendix E (p. 267) where there is a transcription into staff notation. The responses were sung in a call-and-response fashion, probably between the person leading the service, and anyone in the congregation who was able to sing the responses. The responses were divided into two parts. The first part would have been sung at the beginning of the service and this ended after the singing of the Venite, or ‘Invitatory psalm’. The second part began with the singing of the Apostle’s Creed and ended with the three Collects.

The transcription in Appendix E (p. 267) shows that the music used in *Amaculo ombedesho* was based on what were known as the ‘Ferial’ responses. These were the

⁸⁶ USPG E.5 (1859), f. 287 and USPG E.5 (1859), f. 335.

⁸⁷ John Gordon, ‘A new mission in Kaffraria’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 October 1860, p. 148.

⁸⁸ In *Incwadi Yemitandazo (Book of Common Prayer in isiXhosa)* published in 1865, these were known as *Isimiselo sombedesho wakusasa* and *Isimiselo sombedesho wangokuhlwa*, respectively. Both the liturgies were direct translations of the services found in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

responses widely used by Anglican churches on so-called ordinary, or non-festal, days.⁸⁹ The particular arrangement that was used here was widely used in Britain: it was devised by James Turle and known for its use at Westminster Abbey and Armagh Cathedral, both places where Turle had been organist. These were already available in tonic sol-fa in an edition prepared by John Curwen in 1860.⁹⁰

Table 4.4 Comparison of the musical settings for Morning and Evening Prayer in ‘Amaculo ombedesho’ and James Turle’s Ferial setting, ‘The Choral Service of Westminster and Armagh’			
UNBEDESHO WEMIHLA NGEMIHLA (DAILY PRAYER)			
First set of responses	isiXhosa	English	Comments on the music
	<i>Prayers and General Confession</i>		Unison Amen (S.A.T.B. harmonised in Turle’s version).
	<i>Nkosi, yivule imilomo yetu. Ize ilushumayeke udumo lwako.</i>	O Lord, open thou our lips. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.	Same.
	<i>Maukauleze ukusisindise, Tixo. Maukauleze ukusisiza Nkosi.</i>	O God, make speed to save us. O Lord, make haste to help us.	Same.
	<i>Udumiso malubeko kuye uYise, nakuye uNyana: nakuya uMoya Oyingcwele; Njengokuba bekunjalo ekuqaleni, kunjalo nakaloku, kwakuya kuhalala kunjalo: kude kube ngunapkhade. Amen</i>	Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be; world without end. Amen.	Same.
	<i>Dumisani iNkosi. Maludunyiswe igama leNkosi.</i>	Praise ye the Lord. The Lord’s name be praised.	Different. Completely new setting which modulates to the key of the chant for Venite.
‘Venite’, or ‘Invitatory Psalm’	<i>Yizani, masiculele Enkosini ...</i>	O come let us sing unto the Lord ...	Chant is found in ‘Mercer’ where it is known as ‘Gregorian by Tallis’.
The Apostle’s Creed	<i>Ndiyakolwa kuTixo ... Amen</i>	I believe in God ...	Same.
Second set of responses	<i>iNkosi maibe kuni. Nakumoya wako.</i>	The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit.	Different. Harmonised in Amaculo. Unison in Turle.
	<i>Masitandaze. I. Nkosi, sipate ngofefe. II. Kristu, sipate ngofefe. III. Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.</i>	Let us pray. Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ, have mercy upon us.	In Amaculo: All three harmonised. In Turle: I & II in unison; I by minister alone. III the same in both.

⁸⁹ Temperley, *Music of the English parish church*, I, p. 293.

⁹⁰ John Curwen published a version in *Tonic Solfa Reporter*, 94 (September 1860), pp. 324-5; an advertisement also appeared in *Musical Times*, 1 December 1862, p. 108 that Curwen had ‘translated’ Turle’s Armagh and Westminster responses into tonic sol-fa.

		Lord, have mercy upon us.	
	<i>Bawo wetu osezulwini ... Amen.</i>	Our Father ... Amen.	Same.
	<i>Nkosi, sibonise ububele bako. Usipe usindiso lwako.</i>	O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us. And grant us thy salvation.	Same. (One note different in the versicle.)
	<i>Nkosi, sindisa ukumkanikazi. Usive ngofefe sakubizela kuwe.</i>	O Lord, save the Queen. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.	Same.
	<i>Vatisa abaqfundisi bako ngobulungisa. Uvuyise abantu bako abaqashiweyo.</i>	Endue thy ministers with righteousness. And make thy chosen people joyful.	Same.
	<i>Nkosi, sindisa abantu bako. Ulitamsangelis' ilifa lako.</i>	O Lord, save thy people. And bless thine inheritance.	Same.
	<i>Sipe uxolo ngexesha letu, Nkosi. Ngokuba kungeko wembi osiwelayo nguwe wedwa Tixo.</i>	Give peace in our time, O Lord. Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou, O God.	Same.
	<i>Tixo, zenze ngewele inkliziyo zetu pakati kwetu. Ungasusi Umoya wako Oyingcwele</i>	O God, make clean our hearts within us. And take not thy holy Spirit from us.	Same.
Collects	[Collects] Amen.		Same.

The basic melodic and harmonic shape of the responses in *Amaculo ombedesho* are the same as Turle's, but there were some variations from the source. These are presented in Table 4.4, and some are discussed here. In Turle, the first set of responses went from D major, to A major, and ended in E major; in other words the tonality moved in a relation of keys a fifth apart from each other. In *Amaculo ombedesho*, on the other hand, the movement of keys was from G major to D major to A major and back to D major.

A further difference is found in the second part of response 'E' (*'Malidunyiswe [...]'*) which was completely new and bore no resemblance to Turle. It was written in a triple metre and followed the natural rhythm of the isiXhosa text, suggesting that the editor was aware that the Turle setting (consisting of just four syllables, 'Praise ye the Lord') would not be sufficient for the isiXhosa (11 syllables). This variation is also noteworthy because it was set syllabically (one note for every syllable) unlike many of the other responses which included chanted portions with many syllables to one note (for example, see response 'D' where the parts sing '*kude kube nguna-*' to one note). This was probably because the Venite chant was in G major: something new was needed to be created so there was a musical bridge to the

Venite chant.⁹¹ To get to this chant, response ‘E’ needed to move from A major to D major, the dominant of G major, the key of the Venite chant. This prepared the participants aurally for arrival on G major.

These variations show us that that missionaries needed to make concessions to language. Music could not be transplanted wholesale into the mission field but required adaptation and variation in order to make it work in a new language. Viewed another way, it is indicative that the educational process was not a one-way process. As missionaries became more familiar with local languages and musical practices (probably the case by 1866), they were themselves learning to adapt the musical practices they sought to introduce. This, ultimately, resulted in hybrid musical forms, which grew out of a process of negotiation and dialogue between missionaries and local practitioners.

The Litany

Appendix F (p. 271) contains the text of the Litany in isiXhosa and English. The letters correspond to Appendix G (p. 273) where there is a transcription of the tonic sol-fa notation. There were several reasons why the Litany, both its text and the melodies to which this was sung, was significant and used so frequently. I shall introduce this context because it helps to explain its significance and the reasons why missionaries wanted their converts to be familiar and able to participate in its performance.

A Litany can be simply defined as a form of prayer in which a sequence of invocations or supplications are intoned by a minister, or cantor, followed by a response from the congregation. The Litany was a well-established part of Christian liturgy, and while litanies took many forms, they all had the same basic features: they were usually recited (although not exclusively so) while walking in procession on certain days or at certain times of the year, and had been established among Christian liturgies since at least the fourth

⁹¹ The chant was taken from ‘Mercer’ and known as ‘Gregorian by Tallis’ (The source named ‘Mercer’ is discussed below in the section about the Litany)

century CE.⁹² They were also usually sung, and this was a practice that was continued after the English Reformation.⁹³

The earliest printed musical setting of Cranmer's 1544 English Litany was produced by John Merbecke who provided only melody lines in his *Book of Common praier noted* (1550). Many believed that as Cranmer drew on plainsong for these melodies the music was far more ancient: the work of Merbeck and Cranmer was largely concerned with adapting the plainsong melodies previously sung with Latin texts to the new English version of the Litany.⁹⁴ This music was thus significant for it represented a link with the ancient past, a further historical link that mission congregations would have been making with Anglican liturgical heritage whenever they performed the Litany. This is illustrated by comments in nineteenth-century musical authorities such as Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879) which held: 'The Music of Cranmer's litany is a very ancient chant [...] which occurs in the Salisbury ritual for the procession of peace' ('Salisbury' being a reference to the Sarum Rite, the most widely-used liturgy in pre-Reformation English church).⁹⁵ Later in the same article, the author described Cranmer's method: 'For the new Litany in English, Cranmer obtained music from the oldest sources.'

It is in within this well-established historical context that the use of the Litany on the Anglican-Xhosa missions must be understood: on one level singing a Litany had educational use in that it created awareness among converts of the antiquity of the practice. The historical meanings associated with the Litany were reinforced in the Book of Common Prayer rubric, which directed its frequent use, and which were included in the Xhosa Book of Common Prayer, published for the first time in 1865:

⁹² John Harper, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: a historical introduction and guide for students and musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 136-7. The structure of the Book of Common Prayer Litany and the text in English and isiXhosa can be found in Appendix F. See also Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1945), pp. 46 & 477 for an historical account of the Litany in the Western Church.

⁹³ For a historical discussion of Cranmer's 'English Litany', see James E. Wellington, 'The Litany of Cranmer and Donne', *Sources in Philology*, 68:2 (1971), 177-99.

⁹⁴ See John Milsom, 'English-texted chant before Merbeck', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1.1 (1992), 77-92.

⁹⁵ E.H.D. 'Cathedral Music', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450-1880)*, Volume I, ed. by George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1879), pp. 323-5.

Kulandel' apa umtandazo wokutandazela into zonke ezitandazelwayo okutiva, euakutetwa umhlaumbi iculwe emva kwombedesho wakusasa ngemini zecawa, nango- 'Wednesday,' nango- 'Friday,' nangamanye amaxesha kwakutshiwo ngumfundisi omkulu.

[Here followeth the LITANY, or General Supplication, to be sung or said after Morning Prayer upon *Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays*, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.]

The Prayer Book required that the Litany was sung regularly, making it one of the central liturgical acts of mission musical practice. Indeed, before 1866 it was already an established part of mission liturgical repertoire: numerous reports from between 1859 and 1879 mention singing the Litany meaning that what was printed in *Amaculo ombedesho* was probably a codification of an already established musical practice. Jonas Ntsiko, for example, mentioned that the Litany was sung at his outstation every Sunday at sunrise.⁹⁶ The point is that for the missionaries, these practices were significant, and by virtue of this and their place within Anglican musical practice, they needed to be introduced into the local mission field.

There were other didactic purposes that the Litany served, as the summarised text of the Litany in Appendix 4.4 shows. The first part of the Litany ('Invocations') was addressed to the Trinity with the responses to each versicle calling for mercy upon those singing. The second part ('Suffrages 1') consisted of two parts known as the deprecations and obsecrations, and asked for deliverance and assistance as they outlined the various forms of evils and perils of which Christians were supposed to be aware. The third part ('Suffrages 2') contained prayers for the officers of the state and the church. So, prayers were made for the Queen, the Royal Family, all the priesthood and ordained people, and the people of the church. This served as a reminder of the universal, and worldwide nature of the church, and emphasised the political structures that were closely linked with the Church of England. The Litany concluded with a series of Kyries and the Lord's Prayer. These texts were ones that missionaries wished their converts to know. So, there were not only doctrinal and theological ideas which were imparted through the regular use of the Litany, but it also facilitated the repetition of texts that were taught in schools.

⁹⁶ USPG, E.28 (1873), f. 699: Jonas Ntsiko, 'Report', 3 October 1873.

The origin of the musical sources used by missionaries is a matter for conjecture, but they seem to have had access to contemporary service booklets printed in Britain. In particular, two missionaries mentioned using a book called ‘Mercer’. ‘Mercer’ refers to *The Church Psalter and Hymn Book* (1854), compiled by William Mercer, and one of the first books to combine text and music for Anglican services.⁹⁷ E.T. Green writing in 1862 commented that he used ‘Mercer’ because he found it ‘simple, easy, and beautifully arranged’, while John Gordon, writing in 1869, also mentioned using tunes and chants from the book.⁹⁸

The influence of Mercer is evident in the Litany found in *Amaculo Ombedesho*, for it is a close replication of the version found in Mercer’s *Church Psalter*, also known as a ‘ferial’ litany. First, the form is the same. Like the responses it was sung in a call and response fashion with the priest (‘*UMFUNDISI*’) singing the petitions, and the congregation (‘*ABANTU*’) making a sung response (see Appendix G, p. 273). The harmonies of the responses in *Amaculo ombedesho* seem to have been taken from the ferial Litany in ‘Mercer’.

All the musical material, therefore, was derived from British sources. On the surface, the techniques employed to create a text and music version of an isiXhosa Litany were simple: missionaries took Mercer’s book and adapted the melodies to fit the isiXhosa Litany found in the 1865 *Incwadi Yemitandazo* (Book of Common Prayer in Xhosa). This, however, required adapting the music from Mercer to fit the isiXhosa texts, and translating it into tonic sol-fa to make it a functional manual which could be used by literate congregations.

This, inevitably, resulted in making some adjustments, and these are summarised in Table 4.5. As Table 4.5 shows, the compiler(s) of *Amaculo ombedesho* made several minor adjustments to the arranging of notes between the different voice parts, and altered the inversions of some chords. Nonetheless, the harmonic functioning remained the same. The only alteration which would have been noticeable to an ear trained in Western harmony was the added seventh on the dominant chord on ‘*Sisindise, Nkosi elungileyo*’. A textual difference to note is that in this response, there are six syllables in the English and twelve in the isiXhosa version.

⁹⁷ Temperley, *Music of the English parish church*, I, p. 290. William Mercer and John Goss, eds., *The church psalter and hymnbook*, (London: Jewell and Letchford, 1855).

⁹⁸ E.T. Green, ‘A colonial mission in Africa’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 November 1862, p. 170. USPG E.25 (1869), f. 1171: John Gordon, ‘Report’, 31 December 1869.

Table 4.5 Comparison of the music for the Litany in <i>Amaculo ombedesho</i> and Mercer			
Response	Amaculo	Mercer	Comments
<i>Tixo u-Yise wasezulwini: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi.</i> O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.	I – V – I ⁶ – IV – V – I	I – V – I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Same.
<i>Sinyamezele, Nkosi elungileyo.</i> Spare us, good Lord.	I – IV – V – I	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Based on the same chords; different inversions and voicings between the parts.
<i>Sisindise, Nkosi elungileyo.</i> Good Lord, deliver us.	I ⁶ – IV – V ^{4/3} – I	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Based on the same chords; different inversions and voicings between the parts; seventh added to dominant chord and inversion altered.
<i>Siyakukunga ukuba mause, Nkosi elungileyo.</i> We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.	I – IV – V – I	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Based on the same chords; different inversions and voicings between the parts.
<i>Nyana ka-Tixo: siyukukunga ukuba mawusive.</i> Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.	I – V – I ⁶ – IV – V – I	I – V – I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Same, but different voicings between parts of first chord.
<i>Sipe uxolo lwako.</i> Grant us thy peace.	I – IV – V – I	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Different inversion on first chord and voicings.
<i>Sipate ngofefe.</i> Have mercy upon us.	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Same.
<i>Kristu, mause.</i> O Christ, hear us.	IV – V – I	IV – V – I	Same.
<i>Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.</i> Lord, have mercy upon us.	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	I ⁶ – IV – V – I	Same.

Amen (to Lord's Prayer)	V – I	IV – I	Perfect cadence used instead of Plagal (Mercer).
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It is not clear whether *Amaculo ombedesho* was a codification of existing practice, or a representation of an idealised or aspirational performance: the booklet at best represents one of many possible performances of the music it contains. In the first place, it showed that missionaries wished for their liturgical music to be sung. In the second place, it showed something that was noted in Chapter 3 with reference to the *Benedicite*, namely, that missionaries valued *what* was being sung, rather than *how* it was being sung, and its significance lay not in any particular performance, but in the liturgies that were being performed. The differences we have seen in the settings, I would argue, are of interest not because they show divergences between the practice of the metropole and the mission field, and were being worked out through missionaries themselves becoming educated in the musical needs of the local language and people.

Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to address more closely the ways in which missionaries incorporated musical tuition into their educational programme. The examination of Gordon's mission school showed that music education was part of a broader programme aimed at equipping students with a sufficient amount of musical ability to enable liturgical participation. This led to the teaching of musical literacy using systems such as tonic sol-fa with the aim of enabling converts to learn new styles and forms. Education, more broadly, in Anglican-Xhosa mission schools was also designed to equip students to be able to function in the society that missionaries presented to them. We saw how school pupils and students participated in religious ceremonies, as well as in secular ones, such as concerts, in both of which music featured. Music education in schools was, therefore, directed in two principal directions: internally, so that pupils schooled in the music of missionaries could participate in the daily liturgies of mission stations; and, externally, so that the music taught in schools would inform their life beyond the mission station.

Identification with Christianity was, partly, expressed in a combination of both musical and liturgical literacy and proficiency. Carrying the Prayer Book and answering or responding were symbolic acts of what it meant to be a Christian. This reminds us that music

was a criterion for defining what it meant to be Christian and part of the ‘civilised’ Anglican church. In the second place, because the music of the liturgy followed the conventions of Western European tonality, it also conveyed the conventions and norms of Britain and its culture, both religious and non-religious. Teaching musical literacy by using technologies such as tonic sol-fa also helped missionaries to achieve this goal of enabling participation from converts in not only church services, but also secular events such as concerts.

Anglican-Xhosa missionaries, like many elsewhere in the world, had an impulse to educate, but had to decide on how much education was necessary. In this, they faced practical challenges and found themselves with large numbers of pupils to educate, often scattered over a large geographical area. I outlined how missionaries addressed the challenges of providing a mass educational programme. There were also cultural challenges. Anglican-Xhosa mission education took place in a specific cultural context and would not have been able to operate without the agency of people with knowledge of local cultures, customs, and language. Music education relied on these local agents who were in the majority among the teaching staff. They needed to display a certain level of musical proficiency. While they may have been considered by missionaries to possess a sufficient mastery of missionary music, they never completely shed their own culture, nor lived outside traditional societies, but rather continued to be conversant with local communities through their teaching work.

What we have seen, however, is that melodies and harmonies to which texts were sung in English could not simply be used for translations into isiXhosa, and so certain adaptations had to be made before they could be taught and used. Developing confidence in singing through familiarity meant that concessions had to be made in the ways that things were sung, and here missionaries had to follow the musicality and language of those they were teaching. What this chapter has shown is that the process of both education and adapting forms for local use was not so much driven by missionaries, but also shaped by local people and their requirements. What British missionaries used as evidence to show how their work was advancing was, in fact, an indication of how they were changing and adapting, a topic to which I turn in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 5 – Mission Hymnody, Part One

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the adaptation, adoption, and introduction of hymnody on the Anglican-Xhosa missions to explore how their situation informed the musical adjustments missionaries needed to make. The hymns sung on these missions were not exclusively Anglican in origin; hymns from other missionary denominations were used, because these had already been taught to and learned by many converts.¹ This case study of hymnody will show further the ways in which missionaries had to incorporate local and pre-existing and local material into their own set of musical practices in order to establish themselves. I examine the ways in which missionaries drew on a variety of sources for the music and texts of their hymns, and I discuss the ways in which singing a hymn created a sonic space, or contact zone, for missionaries and indigenous people.

During the nineteenth century hymnody was the most pervasive form of musical expression wherever missionaries of whatever denomination was established, not least on the Anglican-Xhosa missions.² As was the case on most missions around the world, hymns were sung daily not only at services, but also in homes, schools, and as people went about their everyday life. Hymns required active participation and engagement at every stage of their realization, from composition to translation to performance, and this involved missionaries and their congregations. In this way, every person involved in mission expressed some form of individual or collective agency.

I am mainly concerned in this chapter with the period 1855-1869, which covers the time from the establishment of the Anglican-Xhosa missions to when they printed their first hymn book. In the first part of the chapter I outline the hymn's importance as a musical genre within missionary practice. Here, I refer to the observations and experiences of missionaries in other parts of the world. In the second part I survey the hymnody that was already known

¹ In this chapter and the one that follows the term 'hymn' is taken to mean a text, religious in nature, written in a strophic form, that addresses praise to God. It is implied that hymns were always sung, unless it is stated otherwise. 'Hymnody' refers to the process of writing, or composing hymns, and their performance.

² I am primarily concerned in this chapter with Anglican hymnody, and what was sung on Anglican missions. But as the influence of non-Anglican hymnody is important for the argument, I refer to this from time to time.

to have existed among the Xhosa-speaking peoples before the arrival of the Anglicans. This lays the ground for the third part of the chapter, in which I examine how the Anglicans established a repertoire of their own through a process which involved strategies of adoption, adaptation and introduction.

The importance of hymns in mission

In nineteenth-century Britain, the hymn came to occupy a significant place in the Christian literature not only of Anglicans, but also many non-denominational churches. It is estimated that over 400,000 hymns were written between 1837 and 1901.³ There was a profusion of hymnbooks and pamphlets, and hymns were sung not only in churches but also in schools, societies, and at public gatherings.⁴ Given the central place that hymns had in the British religious and musical imagination, it is to be expected that they formed part of the practice of British missionaries overseas.

Missionary journals and periodicals were rich in reports from missionaries around the world about their work on translating hymns into vernacular languages. It was an evident priority of missionaries to produce translations of the Bible, liturgies, and hymns. Hymns were of particular importance here, because missionaries used the tunes and texts of hymns to teach both music and theology. The missionary commitment to translating and spreading hymns was well-known in Britain. W.R. Stevenson noted in his article on foreign missions, which appeared in *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (1892), that hymnbooks had been produced by missionaries on every continent since the late eighteenth century.⁵

There were many reports about missionary translation coming in from the field, which spoke of the importance of the hymn and its central place in missionary musical practice. For many missionaries, hymns were a vital part of evangelising. One missionary in China noted in 1869, ‘it is not the Sacred Scriptures alone which demand the translator’s attention. Prayers and Hymns are needed for the more than 3000 converts who are connected with the several

³ Ian Bradley, *Abide with me: the world of Victorian hymns* (London: SCM Press), xii.

⁴ The historiography on the 19th-century hymn is vast. See in particular Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and music: Britain, 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 368-71 for a discussion of the hymn in British society.

⁵ See W.R. Stevenson, ‘Missions, Foreign’, in *A dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by John Julian (London: John Murray, 1892), pp. 738-59 (p. 738).

Protestant Missions now establishing on the coast.’⁶ Another in Borneo commented that a hymn dubbed ‘The hymn to the Holy Trinity’ was easier to teach than the Creed.⁷ This example shows the attraction of the immediate communicative potential of a hymn: the Creed was a much longer text, with complicated theological sentiments, whereas hymns consisted mostly of short verses with repeated musical material. The uniformity of a congregation singing a hymn also reflected the aspirations which missionaries had for their converts. For Mr Robertson, a missionary in Natal, his congregation’s hearty singing was an outward sign of inward obedience.⁸ Hymns were one of the signs of outward change that missionaries could use to measure the progress of their work. While rendered communally, they also expressed an individual level of devotion, and, furthermore, were a form of literacy that could demonstrate conversion to those who remained unconverted, and to supporters and interested parties beyond the mission field.

Hymns on the Anglican-Xhosa missions

The importance of hymns (and of getting them translated) was a priority on the Anglican-Xhosa missions because they were integral to the musical practices in use. This is evident from their regular appearance in mission services, as well as mission station life, more broadly.⁹ While the primary function of hymns was to teach theology and music, missionaries used hymns in a variety of ways and purposes.

Table 5.1 provides a snapshot of the different structures and formats used by missionaries for their services. As illustrated in this table, at various points in services one or more hymns would have been sung. While services on Anglican-Xhosa missions took on different forms and varied in content according to the needs and circumstance of specific occasions, the hymn was a regular musical element and integral to any missionary gathering or service, even if only one hymn was sung (see Table 5.1, 1856). Singing was a useful way of defining the start of mission gatherings, so one function for hymns was to provide a formal sign that a service was beginning. Indeed, services usually began with some sort of singing,

⁶ ‘The present aspects of missionary work in China’, *The Chinese Reporter and Missionary Journal*, 1 February 1869, p. 193.

⁷ ‘Borneo, the missions at Lundu and Banting’, *The Mission Field*, 1 February 1856, p. 33.

⁸ ‘Seeing and hearing’, *The Mission Field*, 1 December 1857, p. 273.

⁹ For details on patterns of services at missionary stations of other denominations, see J. Sales, *Mission stations and the coloured communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1975), pp. 34-7.

perhaps chanting a psalm (see 1856), but more often a hymn (for example see Table 5.1, 1859a and b). Hymns therefore provided a means of settling a congregation and bringing focus to a gathering.

Table 5.1 Anglican-Xhosa mission services, 1855 – 1863			
Year	Type of service	Details	Source
1855	Visit to St Luke's station by Bishop Armstrong.	The Te Deum was sung.	C.F. Pascoe, <i>Two hundred years of the S.P.G.: an historical account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900</i> , 2 vols. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1901), I, p. 298.
1856	Sunday Kafir Service (this form of service was regularly reported in following years)	Chant Psalm 67 Prayer Psalm/Bible reading Hymn Creed Epistle or Gospel Address Prayer Benediction	USPG, E.2 (1856), f. 33: William Greenstock, 'Report', November 1856.
1858	Kafir Service	Bell rung Hymn singing Bell rung Psalm 67 Confession Lord's Prayer Gloria Patri Magnificat Explanation of Psalm 5 Hymn Creed Address Bible reading Hymn Prayer	USPG, E.4 (1858), f. 79: William Greenstock, 'Report', 30 June 1858.
1859a	Holy Communion	Hymn Communion Service First time Communion was celebrated by the missionary in isiXhosa.	USPG, E.5 (1859), f. 287: William Greenstock, 'Report', March 1859.
1859b	Daily mission station services at St Matthew's, Keiskammahoek	Hymn Sentence of Scripture Confessions	USPG, E.5 (1856), f. 373: William Greenstock, 'Report', May 1859.

		Lord's Prayer Versicles and Responses Psalm Lesson Collects Corinthians 13	
1860	Confirmation	Hymn Litany Hymn Address by the Bishop Laying on of hands Hymn Benediction	USPG, E.7 (1860), f. 339: William Greenstock, 'Report', 30 March 1860.
1860b	Easter Day Service with Wesleyans	Service included singing of hymns.	USPG, E.7 (1860), f. 339: William Greenstock, 'Report', 8 April 1860.
1860c	Marriage service	Hymn sung after the marriage service. (after which 'the heathen left')	USPG, E.7 (1860), f. 339: William Greenstock, 'Report', 10 April 1860.
1862	Consecration of new chapel at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek	Hymn (Kafir) Genesis 23 Procession (during which three English hymns were sung) Psalm 90 (chanted) Anthem Blessing of cemetery Anthem Hymn (Kafir) Doxology Benediction	NLSA, MSE 9, USOG microform collection 1819-1900: William Greenstock, 'Report', 2 October 1862.
1862a	Whitsunday morning service and baptism	Hymn Address Baptism (of men) Gloria Baptism (of women) Gloria Baptism (of men) Amens The Te Deum	Henry Waters, 'Missions in Kaffraria, <i>The Gospel Missionary</i> , 1 November 1862, p. 162
1862b	Service to the heathen	Hymn Ten Commandments Short Psalm (sung) Lesson Address Hymn Apostles' Creed Lord's Prayer	USPG, E.13 (1862), f. 159: William Greenstock, 'Report', 31 December 1862.

		The Grace	
1863a	Baptism	The Te Deum Hymn Baptism	John Gordon, 'Bashee Mission', <i>The Gospel Missionary</i> , 1 February 1863.
1863b	Daybreak, took place at missionary's wagon	Hymn Prayers	USPG, E.20 (1863), f. 279: Henry Waters, 'Report', 2 March 1863.

Within services hymns were used to punctuate the proceedings. This was a deliberate strategy aimed at engaging congregations. William Greenstock's order for 'services with the heathen' (Table 5.1, 1862 c) included hymns because he found that the singing kept the attention of the congregation.¹⁰ His daily 30-minute devotions at St Matthew's mission began with the singing of a hymn and included hymns as an 'interval' (see Table 5.1, 1858).¹¹

Apart from their functional uses, hymns were also a means to mark out the social divisions of the mission station, and came to be a sonic marker of difference. At a converts' wedding (see Table 5.1, 1860c) held at St Matthew's mission in April 1860, a hymn was sung between the wedding service itself and Holy Communion. It was sung while 'the heathen' left the church, and thus emphasized the moment that the non-believers, who were unable to attend communion, were separated from the believers. Hymns were also sung at other types of services such as baptisms and confirmations (the Te Deum was often sung at these: see Table 5.1, 1862b and 1863a). At one baptism in 1863, both the Te Deum and another hymn was sung before the baptism ceremony. The missionary, John Gordon, commented on the chanting of the Te Deum, that the singing was 'very nice'.¹²

Hymns (as we saw in Chapter 4) were also often associated with teaching and learning. Hymn singing, for instance, formed part of the Sunday School activities at Henry Waters' mission, St Mark's.¹³ Waters said of the activity that it took up the 'chief part', which suggests that the activity of hymn singing held benefits for Sunday School instruction. The Great Festivals provided an opportunity to learn new hymns. For instance, John Gordon reported that rehearsals took place over two days in order to learn new hymns and chants for

¹⁰ USPG, E.13 (1862), f. 159: William Greenstock, 'Report', 31st December 1862.

¹¹ USPG, E.5 (1859), f. 373: William Greenstock, 'Report', 5th May 1859.

¹² John Gordon, 'Bashee mission', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1st February 1863, p. 32. For an account of the Te Deum in the early church, see Calvin R. Stapert, *A new song for an old world: musical thought in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2007), p. 177.

¹³ USPG, E.23 (1868), f. 1213: Henry Waters, 'Report', 17 May 1868.

Christmas.¹⁴ Hymn practices outside of service times were a common occurrence at other mission stations. A.J. Newton, missionary at St Mark's station, reported that he held Saturday evening practices to learn hymns, chants and anthems.¹⁵ Some missionaries, therefore, devoted a significant amount of time ensuring that their congregations learned new hymns.

Hymns featured in life outside religious services. Missionaries would report that they heard hymns being sung in non-religious settings. This was often the case while missionaries were on visits to outstations. Henry Waters recalled how on such a visit at a daybreak service, a group of 'servants' arrived at his wagon, and sang hymns before they prayed (See Table 5.1 1863b).¹⁶ Missionaries made sure that the singing of hymns was encouraged (and incorporated) into quotidian secular activities such as meals. There they would have replaced traditional, pre-conversion activities.¹⁷ On one evening at St John's Bolotwa, the missionary, Fred Patten, recorded how 'Kafir hymns set to tunes from Hymns Ancient & Modern' were sung after supper.¹⁸ Such spontaneous musical acts were used as evidence that missionary forms of musical expression were becoming embedded in indigenous society. It was also the case that missionaries observed times when hymns were becoming engrained in the consciousness of converts. The bishop of Grahamstown, writing in 1863, related an anecdote about a convert who had had a dream which was later written in the form of a poem.¹⁹ In the dream, according to the bishop, the convert had a vision of 'Holy hymns in church ascended.'

Singing a text was an act which provided proof of belief especially since missionaries believed in the universalism of their message. When William Greenstock reported that a congregation sang *Bawo ngobubele bako* 'They [the congregation] joined in very heartily, and the melody was very cheering.'²⁰ This suggests that the congregation, most of whom would in all likelihood have been illiterate, were able to join in the singing because they knew both text and tune, quite literally, by heart. While 'heartily' and 'hearty' can be taken to demonstrate musical familiarity, for missionaries it meant something else: a common

¹⁴ USPG, E.25 (1869), f. 1171: John Gordon, 'Report', 24 December 1869.

¹⁵ USPG, E.9 (1861), f. 410: A.J. Newton 'Report', 8 July 1861.

¹⁶ USPG, E.20 (1863), f. 279: Henry Waters, 'Report' 16 March 1863.

¹⁷ David B. Coplan has identified this as a reason why the harmonic language of hymns came to be incorporated into twentieth century South African jazz styles. See David B. Coplan, *In township tonight! South Africa's Black city music and theatre* (Longman: London, 1985), p. 37.

¹⁸ USPG, E.23 (1868), f. 1133: C.F. Patten 'Report', 30 June 1868.

¹⁹ Henry Cotterill, 'Dreams of the heathens', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 April 1863, p. 62.

²⁰ USPG, E.4 (1858), f.79: William Greenstock, 'Report', 2 May 1858. *Bawo ngobubele bako* = 'Father, through thy grace'.

meaning of the word in the mid-nineteenth century was to describe something that was rendered sincerely or from the heart.²¹ The heart, in many Christian theological traditions, was seen as the place where religious introspection took place. Therefore, something ‘rendered from the heart’ was the ultimate expression of religious sincerity. Likewise, for something to be rendered from the heart also showed that a fundamental change had taken place in a convert.²² As we saw in Chapter 4, much mission education was devoted to encouraging participation from indigenous converts.

It also seems that knowledge of hymnody, especially when it was committed to memory, was an attribute of prowess. John Gordon taught his converts and schoolchildren to commit texts to memory and set aside an hour of instruction for ‘teaching them to repeat psalms, hymns, portions of the Scripture and Hymns from memory.’²³ The emphasis missionaries put on learning texts by memory indicates that in the early stages of mission before mass literacy could be achieved, converts were taught to memorise hymn texts. This would also explain why participation by congregations was patchy, and why Anglican missionaries drew on hymnody from other denominations which was likely to have been known in advance.

Finally, hymns also featured in non-religious events where they were a sign that missionary culture was taking root. Singing hymns outside religious services was by no means exclusive to the Anglican-Xhosa mission field. It was common practice for missionaries elsewhere in the world to incorporate hymn singing at events which were not services.²⁴ A visitor to St Barnabas outstation reported in the *Gospel Missionary* that hymns

²¹ For example, see: P.A., Nuttall, ed., *Johnson’s dictionary of the English language for the use of schools and general students* (London: G. Routledge, 1855), p. 95; Frederick Poynder, *A dictionary of the English language for the use of schools* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1854), p. 146; and Robert Sullivan, *A Dictionary of the English language for the use of schools, and for general reference [etc.]* (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Sons, 1850), p. 123.

²² On ‘heart religion’ in the theological frameworks of the Church of England, see John Coffey, ‘Introduction: Sources and Trajectories of Evangelical Piety’, in *Heart religion: evangelical piety in England and Ireland, 1690-1850*, ed by. John Coffey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1-28 (pp. 6-9).

²³ NLSA, MSE 9: John Gordon, ‘Report’, 2 January 1858.

²⁴ See for example: (1) Bishop of Labuan, ‘Missions in Borneo’, *The Mission Field*, 1 February 1867, p. 71, reported that Dyak translations of English hymns in a particular had been sung informally the previous evening; and (2), Andrew Jamieson, ‘Mission in Huron (Missions to the Indians)’, *The Mission Field*, 1 February 1867, p. 55, where a missionary

were sung by children immediately after reciting the alphabet.²⁵ He noted further that on Saturday evenings hymns were sung by children at their social gatherings. Hymns combined music with theology and literacy, and were therefore an immediate way to demonstrate the skills and knowledge that missionaries wished to instil in their converts.

Norman Etherington has noted that missionaries employed a wide range of ‘material paraphernalia’ to change and empower their converts.²⁶ He argues that hymns were an important instrument of this process not just for their theology but also for the material systems which allowed for their printing, and, in turn, their performance.²⁷ In other words, and as we have seen so far, hymns were indicative of other processes of change, not always religious, that were taking place. While these associations were important, on a fundamental level the ability to demonstrate that converts were singing hymns was taken as a sign of change, as the language of hymns was also one of the tools that missionaries saw as a means to convert. Converts were, therefore, important not just as singers of hymns but also as leaders and teachers of hymns.

Hymns and indigenous agents

Attempts to supplant indigenous music making with hymnody involved Xhosa converts. Hymns, like other forms of musical expression, required participants. Hymns were a means to involve indigenous converts not just as participants but also as leaders. Given that most outstations were overseen by native catechists (see Chapter 4), the greater part of teaching hymns was done by converts. At St Matthew’s Keiskammahoek, William Greenstock reported that he relied on the advice of a convert Zebedee about what hymns to sing, because Zebedee understood the ‘character of his countrymen.’²⁸ Greenstock, and no doubt many of his colleagues, were encouraged by such involvement and made a point of reporting such cases. This was especially so when the desired improvement brought about by

reported that the Indians were fond of hymns and he often found them ‘with a hymn-book and a book of music before them’ as singing hymns was becoming part of daily activity.

²⁵ L.S. Browne, ‘A visit to the Kafir missions’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 August 1863, p. 128.

²⁶ Norman Etherington, ‘Outward and visible signs of conversion in Nineteenth-Century Kwazulu-Natal’ in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32:4 (2002), 422-439.

²⁷ See Etherington, ‘Outward and visible’, 434.

²⁸ W. Greenstock, ‘St. Matthew’s mission, Grahamstown’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1st March 1861, p. 36.

hymns was recognised by converts themselves, such as when Stephen, a convert and catechist at St Matthew's, is reported to have commented that 'hymns produce grace.'²⁹

Indigenous agents also taught using hymn books. On one occasion Peter Mapasa was said to have produced a hymn book and led the singing from this. On another he 'gave out' hymns meaning that they were performed with Mapasa singing a line at a time, with the congregation repeating what he sang.³⁰ His ability to line out the hymns suggests that he had a good knowledge of the music and text, a qualification which enhanced his credentials as a lay indigenous missionary. We know that indigenous congregants sang, and in this way participated, but more often than not we are told that the singing was led by missionaries and their agents.

Another indigenous agent at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek, Klaas, wrote in a report that on a house visit he began singing a hymn when he entered.³¹ In much the same way as hymns demarcated the formal beginning of a service, Klaas used a hymn to announce his presence and to create a particular sonic atmosphere within the dwelling he visited. These hymns acted to separate what was about to begin from the rest of traditional life. They both invited people to join and also demarcated physical and sonic space. Hymns, however, did not always have the desired effect. Peter Masiza, a Xhosa convert working in the Tsojana area reported how a woman began laughing at him when he began singing a hymn.³² From this account it appears that the new genre was not always as engaging as missionaries and their agents may have wished it to be.

Over and above their being a vehicle for the expression of belief, hymns were important for the reason that they drew people in and encouraged participation. There was no shortage of material on which to draw, and in the genre missionaries found something that would appeal to congregants, as well as fulfil some of mission's didactic needs. They were also a style of music making which (after a certain amount of instruction) could involve indigenous converts in different ways, from leading hymn singing to participation, thus providing missionaries with examples of the progress of their work. The Anglicans were not,

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ USPG, E.17 (1865), f.201: Henry Waters, 'Report', 21 February 1865. Marie Jorritsma, *Sonic spaces of the Karoo: the sacred music of a South African coloured community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), p. 238 suggests the practice of lining out was common in many colonial communities.

³¹ USPG, E.20 (1865), f. 219: William Greenstock, 'Report', 31 December 1865.

³² USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1171: P. Masiza, 'Report', 9 August 1869.

however, the first mission society to sing hymns at the Cape, and so it is important to understand why the hymn was such an important part of their strategy of evangelising. This is where there was a close and important relationship between indigenous agents, the hymns, and the example set by other mission societies and the practices they had already introduced.

Hymns practices at the Cape before the Anglicans

Many indigenous converts had already been exposed to Christian culture, and so had encountered hymns in some way or another. Indigenous converts who had been schooled in these practices were important for enabling Anglican missionaries to use hymns in their services. This also indicates that, to a certain extent, there already existed in the Eastern Cape a hymn singing culture. To understand better how Anglican missionaries adopted, adapted, and introduced hymns into this context, we need to know more about the hymns that were being sung in other missionary denominations.

To many first-generation missionaries, the mission field appeared as virgin territory ready to be populated with the Christian faith and its concomitant culture.³³ This, however, was not always the case, and can be seen in the hymn culture that existed in the Eastern Cape before the Anglicans began introducing their own hymns. When the Anglican missionaries arrived they entered into an area where Christian practices had been established by missionaries of other denominations, and one of these practices was hymn singing. Anglican missionaries would have found that congregations in other denominations were already singing hymns in a variety of languages, including English, Dutch and isiXhosa. From well before the arrival of the Anglicans, visitors to the area remarked on the hymn singing of mission congregations.³⁴

Table 5.2 provides an overview of the publishing activity of the mission societies whose arrival pre-dated the Anglicans. Printers and printing presses were already in operation on mission stations belonging to non-Anglican denominations (for example Lovedale and “Chumie”) and in towns (for example Grahamstown and King William’s Town), and these

³³ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), p. 170.

³⁴ For example, *Missions in Caffraria, from their commencement to the present time* (Dublin: Religious Tract and Book Society, 1833), p. 190.

allowed missionaries to publish and disseminate their hymns.³⁵ Between the early 1820s and 1856, thirteen hymnbooks of isiXhosa hymns are known to have been produced by the three main mission organisations working in the Eastern Cape, comprising a total of 972 hymns, some of which were duplicated in more than one book. There was not only a good supply of printed resources on which Anglican missionaries would have been able to draw, but also a repertoire of hymns already in isiXhosa.

Table 5.2 Hymnbooks produced by other denominations before 1855

	Title	Number of hymns	Publication details and notes	Year of publication
Free Church Mission (Glasgow Missionaries)	<i>Amaculo</i>	29	Free Church Mission (Glasgow Missionaries)	[n.d.]
	<i>Amaculo</i>	26	printed at Chumie, R. Niven	[n.d.]
	<i>u-Vimbe</i>	2	Page folio; ‘ <i>Babetunywe ababini</i> ’ and ‘ <i>Vuselela inkumbulo</i> ’; thought to be written by u-Vimbe, a Wesleyan Native Missionary, Xhosa by birth.	c. 1836
	<i>Incwadana inamaculo gokwamaxosa</i>	56	Printed by Aldum and Harvey, Grahamstown, edited by John Bennie at Lovedale	1839
	<i>Incwadana inamaculo gokwamaxosa</i>	97	Printed by Jaffray and Rowles, Grahamstown, edited by John Bennie at Lovedale.	1841
	<i>Incwadi yamaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zika-Kristu ezisemaxoseni</i>	87	Printed at the Mount Coke press by Lovedale missionaries	1853
Wesleyan Missions	<i>Le yincwadi yamaculo okunvunywa gamaxosa</i>	48	Printed at Wesleyan Press, Grahamstown; initials indicate authors (some hymns are without attribution:	1835

³⁵ Printing is considered further in Chapter 6. There are several historical overviews of printing in the Eastern Cape see (1) Alfred Gordon-Brown, *The settlers' press: seventy years of printing in Grahamstown covering the publication of books, pamphlets, directories, almanacs, newspapers, with historical notes and anecdotes and contemporary illustrations* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1979). (2) J.B. Pieres, ‘Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited’ in *English in Africa* 7:1 (1980), 71-85 and (3) Jane Sales, *Mission stations and the coloured communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1975).

	<i>eziskolweni zaba-Wesley</i>		John Ayliff William B. Boyce George Cyrus William J. Davis Henry H. Dugmore R. Haddy Theophilus Shepstone	
	<i>Le yincwadi yamaculo okuvunywa gamaxosa ezikolweni zaba-Wesli</i>	64	Printed in Grahamstown	1839
	<i>Inncwadi yamaculo, okuvunywa ezikolweni zaba-Wesli eziemaxoseni</i>	89	Printed in Peddie	1843
	<i>Inncwadi yamaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zaba-Wesli ezismaxoseni</i>	113	Printed in King William's Town	1849
	<i>Inncwadi yamaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zaba-Wesli ezismaxoseni</i>	132	King William's Town	1851
German Missions (Moravians)	<i>Incwadana inamaculo gokwamaXosa</i>	33	Printed at Fort Peddie	1842
	<i>Incwadi yamaculo</i>	138	Printed at Mount Coke. Compiled by Rev. A Kropf	1856
	<i>Incwadi enemitandazo namaculo gokwamaxosa</i>	58	Printed by Rev. A Bonatz on a visit to Europe	1856

Source: William Bleek, *The Library of His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B.* (London: Trübner and Co, 1858), pp. 59-63.

In addition to hymnbooks, numerous pamphlets were produced. Although no precise statistics are available for missionary printing activities during the first half of the nineteenth

century, the page folio (Table 5.2 c. 1836) was probably one of many pamphlets and single pages of hymns printed.³⁶ The efforts of individual societies to produce printed versions of hymns and entire hymnbooks is an indication of how important the hymn was for both missionaries and converts. As Table 5.2 shows, missionaries devoted a significant amount of time and energy publishing collections of hymns. The Glasgow Missionaries who began work among the Xhosa in 1824, had published two hymnals containing over twenty hymns each before 1830, at least.³⁷ By 1856, the same society had produced five hymnals, the largest of which (1841) contained ninety-seven hymns. These were mostly edited by British missionaries themselves, but also contained contributions from Xhosa speakers as I will show below. Much the same can be seen in the efforts of both the Wesleyan and German (Moravian) Societies. The former began printing hymnbooks in 1835, and by 1851 they had produced five more hymnbooks, the largest of which contained 132 hymns. The Moravians drew directly from the Lutheran, German-language repertoire, not only for their texts but also for their tunes.

Hymns and hymnbooks were multipurpose objects and served other functions in addition to supporting congregational singing. They were important to each organisation as a means of identification through their doctrine and beliefs. For instance, the Moravians included catechetical and liturgical texts in their hymnbooks. Their second book of 138 hymns (Table 5.2, 1856) also contained a translation of Martin Luther's *Questions*, and the fifty-eight hymns of their other book were preceded by twenty-six pages of prayers for various occasions.

As this shows the Anglicans came into an area where many hymn texts were already available, and it would naturally therefore follow that they drew first on these resources. What existed in print, however, represented only in part the body of hymns that was used. Many hymns would have been taught by memorisation. Also, there were indigenous Christians producing hymns, many of whom were unable to write their compositions down. Many hymns must have been committed to memory, and transmitted orally rather than through print. What existed before the Anglicans arrived, therefore, was not just the printed

³⁶ We know that the Anglicans produced single pages of printed hymns: an example of printing from St Matthew's Keiskammahoek is discussed below.

³⁷ J.J. Du Plessis, *A history of Christian missions in South Africa* (New York: Longmans, 1911), p. 184.

versions of hymns produced by British missionaries, but also a corpus of orally-transmitted hymns.

So far, we have seen that most of the printed hymnody on Eastern Cape missions was British and European in origin. This was both in terms of the texts and style. In other words, hymns in isiXhosa were mostly direct translations of European texts, while original hymns in isiXhosa were composed according to the conventions of European hymn writing. Texts were produced by European missionaries who either translated hymns they knew or wrote originals isiXhosa texts. Tunes appear to have been entirely European in origin, and there is no evidence of local melodies being incorporated or adapted.

Hymns composed by amaXhosa converts

As can be seen from the previous section and Table 5.2, there is fragmentary evidence of a body of hymnody written by indigenous Christians. Some of this was written down, and some of it was transmitted orally. This evidence demonstrates that there had been indigenous efforts to engage with the genre of hymnody on both the active level of performance and the creative level of composition. It suggests that what we find in print was not the only body of hymnody on which missionaries were able to draw. It is important, furthermore, because many indigenous converts, of the Anglican and other mission denominations, would have been likely to have known about these compositions. Knowing more about what existed of this type of hymnody will help us to understand better the extent to which indigenous Christians both engaged with and adopted religious forms of expression.

Literacy in other forms, newspapers, for example, was on the rise in Xhosa communities from the 1820s onwards.³⁸ This suggests that indigenous Christians were acquiring the skills both to read, helping them to participate in hymn singing, and to write, enabling them to compose hymns themselves. Although limited in quantity, there is evidence to suggest that indigenous Christians were beginning to write hymns from as early as before 1820. A page folio dated from 1836 and printed by the Glasgow missionaries contained two

³⁸ Mcebisi Ndletyana, *African Intellectuals in 19th and early 20th century South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), pp. 1-16, esp. p.2: the Bible and newspapers were most common pieces of literature among the indigenous Xhosa population at that time (1820s). From 1854 so-called Native Education received a boost through government subsidies leading to an increase in literacy education of indigenous people.

hymns written by a lay indigenous preacher known as U-Vimbe.³⁹ The 1841 hymnal of the same society contained three hymns written by u-Vimbe and two by another lay indigenous preacher u-Futini (see Table 5.2 c. 1836 and 1841). While these are isolated examples, they suggest that indigenous Christians were not only performing hymns but also beginning, from early on, to compose hymns too.

Before 1869, when the Anglicans published their first isiXhosa hymnals, the only other significant hymn known to have been written by an indigenous Christian was Ntsikana Gaga's (c. 1780-1821) '*Ulo Thixo omkhulu*' ('Thou art the great God'). The hymn would have been known to Anglican converts and Anglican missionaries on account of its popularity among Xhosa Christians and its use by other mission denominations. Ntsikana was a significant figure for Xhosa Christians as he was one of the earliest indigenous Christian missionaries, and on account of the number of firsts his story embodied: he was the first convert, the first indigenous preacher, and the first indigenous composer of hymns.⁴⁰ Furthermore, his conversion narrative and the hymn which he wrote both stand out as the most prominent contributions to Christianity by a Xhosa person in the nineteenth century.⁴¹

European visitors reported hearing the hymn being sung suggesting that by 1855 it was well-established in the Xhosa hymn repertoire.⁴² The anonymous author of *Missions in Caffraria* noted, referring to Ntsikana's hymn: 'The following hymn, which the people are still accustomed to sing to a low monotonous native air, may shew how the faith of the Gospel refines and elevates the mind of the rudest barbarian that receives it.' Cowper Rose

³⁹ The opening lines of the two hymn by hymn translate as (i) 'Stir up your thoughts/memories' ('*Vuselela inkumbulo*'); and (ii) 'They sent two' ('*Babetuywe ababini*'). Bleek's catalogue, for example, refers to two hymns written by a convert known as u-Vimbe, an anonymous 'Wesleyan Native Missionary' (see Table 5.2, c. 1836). This no doubt refers to John Muir Vimbe, whose biography is found in Bokwe, *African convert*.

⁴⁰ Christine Lucia, 'Introduction: Reading South African Music', in *The world of South Africa music: a reader*, ed. by Christine Lucia (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press), pp. xxi-xlvi (p. xxix). Bokwe, *African convert*, p. 28: Ntsikana's hymn was 'the first Christian hymn composed and sung in Kaffirland to real native music.'

⁴¹ C. Michael Hawn, 'Ntsikana Gaga', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/n/ntsikana-gaga>> [accessed 17 September 2019]; J. Sales, *Mission stations and the coloured communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1975), p. 64. Ntsikana's hymn, which was first put into print in the early 1820s, has received a close textual analysis by Janet Hodgson. See Janet Hodgson, *Ntsikana's great hymn: a Xhosa expression of Christianity in the early 19th century eastern Cape* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1980), pp. 27-67.

⁴² *Missions in Caffraria*, p. 118.

(one of the explorers discussed in Chapter 2) for example, heard it being sung at the Wesleyan Mission Station, Wesleyville, in the 1820s. Rose heard the congregations sing several hymns, but Ntsikana's was particularly noteworthy: 'There was one hymn that had been composed by a Kaffer, with which I was particularly pleased, and which I afterwards obtained.'⁴³ Rose's description also provided some idea of how the hymn was performed. He recalled that the performance was led by a single bass voice singer who began each verse and was then joined by other voices in a 'call and response' form. This was in contrast to hymns performed in the European style which were sung in unison or harmony in a homophonic style, in other words with all the voices moving in parallel at the same time. Janet Hodgson suggests that Ntsikana's hymn was accompanied from time-to-time by dancing and movement which was integral to indigenous Xhosa music, but also antithetical to the European style of performing hymns.⁴⁴

Ntsikana's hymn (composed in the early 1820s) was transmitted orally, and this continued even after the earliest known printed version of the hymn appeared in an 1823 Glasgow Missionary Society report.⁴⁵ The first known transcription of text and tune was produced by John Knox Bokwe in 1876.⁴⁶ Before 1876, however, the tune was already well-known. John Bennie, missionary of the Glasgow Society, recorded that it was sung in many remote parts of the region, and that it was sung regularly at Glasgow Mission stations.⁴⁷ It continued to appear in missionary print publications, an indication that its popularity among indigenous Christians was recognised by missionaries. In the Wesleyan Mission Xhosa hymn book of 1835, for instance, it was the first of the 48 hymns (see Table 5.2, 1835). This suggests that the hymn was well-known and that any converts who joined the Anglican-Xhosa missions from another denomination would have known the hymn.

⁴³ Cowper Rose, *Four Years in Southern Africa* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), p. 135.

⁴⁴ Janet Hodgson, *Ntsikana's great hymn*, p. 11: the music of the hymn probably had much akin with KhoiKhoi music.

⁴⁵ Bokwe, *Ntsikana: the story of an African convert*, and Hawn, 'Ntsikana Gaga'. See also Peter Midgley, 'Renaissance Men: 'Ntsikana, A.C. Jordan, S.E.K. Mqhayi and South Africa's Cultural Awakening', in *Grappling with the beast: indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism, 1840-1930*, ed. by Peter Limb, Norman Etherington and Peter Midgley (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 215-44 (p. 219).

⁴⁶ Ruth M. Stone, *Garland Handbook of African Music* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 337

⁴⁷ The rise of the popularity enjoyed by Ntsikana's hymn on the non-conformist missions of the Eastern Cape is traced in John Knox Bokwe, *Ntsikana: the story of an African hymn* (Lovedale: The Mission Press, 1904). See also Hodgson, *Ntsikana's great hymn*, p. 13.

In Britain it also came to be known as a significant hymn written by a Xhosa Christian. The hymn was a significant sign that the Gospel was being planted among amaXhosa. The section of the article 'Missions, Foreign' in *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (1892) that dealt with 'Kafirland, of Kaffraria' noted

Untsikana, one of the earliest converts to Christianity, composed in pure Kafir rhythm the remarkable hymn, "Ulo-Tixo mkulu ngosezulwini" ("Thou art the great God, He Who is in heaven"), which together with his (traditional) music is unique, all subsequent efforts in Kafir hymnody being subject to the trammels of European metres.⁴⁸

Although Ntsikana's hymn was not mentioned by Anglican missionaries in their reports, the evidence suggests that Ntsikana's hymn was well-known among mission communities and Xhosa Christians. It is also significant for it shows that from the early days of Christian mission activity in the Eastern Cape Xhosa Christians were making adaptations to missionary forms of expression. Ntsikana's hymn is also one further example of the types of hymnody found in the Eastern Cape and is indicative of an indigenous style of hymn singing which met the Anglican missionaries upon their arrival.

The hymn was a genre that formed part of the practices of all the major mission denominations, not just the Anglicans. The image of a congregation singing a hymn was one that pervaded mission communities around the world, not just at the Cape, and it was one that satisfied the supporters of mission. This is why missionaries reported it so much. Furthermore, it came to be a genre which indigenous converts not only performed but for which they also wrote and contributed. British Anglican missionaries arrived, therefore, not only with an enthusiasm for hymns, but also found that hymns had been introduced by other missionaries. This was in many ways a favourable circumstance for it gave the Anglicans plenty of resources on which to draw, but it would also require a strategic effort to create a repertoire of hymnody which projected a uniquely Anglican identity.

Adoption of hymns from other mission societies

Before they could produce, write and create their own brand of hymnody, Anglican missionaries drew on hymns that pre-dated their arrival. As the Anglicans often found that

⁴⁸ W.R. Stevenson, 'Missions, Foreign', p. 757.

their adherents had experience of other missionary denominations, they adopted hymns that had already been taught to the converts. This is a noticeable feature of the early hymns that we know were sung in Anglican-Xhosa missions. This would have made sense as hymns that were already known were a way to get congregations singing, and saved missionaries having to spend time teaching hymns rather than preaching and evangelising (although the hymn was part of their evangelisation strategy). A.J. Newton's comment that hymns and psalms were 'much liked' by his congregation demonstrates that missionaries were aware of the importance of this genre in their evangelical work.⁴⁹

The first hymn mentioned in mission reports was '*Bawo ngobubalo bako*', which was sung at a Sunday service on 2 May 1858, held by the missionary William Greenstock in the hut of Kona, a Xhosa chief.⁵⁰ The congregation, made up of both 'heathen' and converts filled the hut and took part in a service which consisted of two psalms, the confession and the Lord's Prayer with the hymn sung at the end of the service. The hymn can be found in later Wesleyan and Anglican-Xhosa hymnbooks which reveal that its author was H.H. Dugmore (1810-96), a Wesleyan missionary (see Example 5.1).⁵¹ The text was exclusively Wesleyan-Xhosa and had been written in 1835 by Dugmore for his society's hymnal *le yincwadi yamaculo okuvunywa gamaxosa eziskolweni zaba-Wesley* (trans. 'The book of hymns for use in the Xhosa schools of the Wesleyans'; see Table 5.2 1835).⁵²

⁴⁹ USPG, E.9 (1862), f. 419: A.J. Newton 'Report', 5 May 1862.

⁵⁰ USPG, E.4 (1858), f.79: William Greenstock, 'Report', 30 June 1858. Greenstock meant '*Bawo ngobubele bako*' and mistook '*ububele*' (goodness or kindness) for '*ububalo*' (grace).

⁵¹ See for example number 123 in *Incwadi yamaculo kunye nengoma zokuvunywa* (London: Elliot and Stock, 1891) and *Iculo Lase-Tshetshi Ne-Ngoma* (London: S.P.C.K, 1919)

⁵² See Table 5.2, 1835.

Example 5.1 Text of ‘Bawo ngobubele bako’

isiXhosa text <i>Amaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zabakristu ezisemaxoseni nezisembo</i> (1869)	English translation (annotation in NLSA AZ.1990-11: Incwadi yamaculo kunye nengoma sokuvunywa (London: Elliot and Stock, 1891).
Bawo, ngobubele bako, Bona umpfumlo wam; Ndiyalila pambi kwako, Susa zonk’ izono zam.	Father, by Thy kindness, See my soul; I am crying before Thee, Take away all my sins.
Ndiko ebusweni bako, Zungalahli izwi lam; Ndipe uxolelo lwako, Susa zonk’ izono zam.	I am present before Thy face, Do not cast off my word; Give me Thy forgiveness, Take away all my sins.
Nkosi yam, andingepeze, Yiva ukubiza kwam; Wena engendibandeze, Susa zonk’ izono zam.	My Lord I am unsatisfied, Hear my calling; Thou cans’t oppress me; Take away all my sins.
Nkosi, Bawo, ndincolile, Hlanza intliziyo yam; Ngezizono ndidanile, Susa zonk’ izono zam.	Lord, Father I am unclean, Cleanse my heart; By these sins I am disappointed, Take away all my sins.

Greenstock was very specific about the tune that was used: ‘Sicilian Marines’.

Naming the tune in his report allowed readers who knew it to identify the melody: it was a means to imagine at least the music that had been sung. SICILIAN MARINES (also known as SICILIAN MARINERS) was an eighteenth-century tune adapted from a Sicilian folk melody (see Example 5.2). The tune was well-known in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵³ Greenstock’s description of the congregation’s rendition of this hymn suggests that they were familiar with the text and melody: he noted how they ‘joined in heartily’ and the ‘melody was very cheering.’ The melody itself would have been partly responsible for ‘hearty’ renditions: it is florid and rhythmical, and the dotted rhythms (in this version, at least) enliven the text.

⁵³ The earliest printed version of this hymn in Britain appeared in *The European Magazine and London Review* (Philological Society of London), Vol. 22, November 1792, p. 385. Many versions of the tune existed in the mid-19th century. The one used in this example is taken from J.R. Watson, ‘O du fröhliche’, *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby, <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/o/o-du-froehliche>> [accessed 17 September 2019].

Example 5.2 Tune SICILIAN MARINE[R]S

Ba - wo, ngo - bu - be - le ba - ko, Bo - na u - mpe fum - lo wam;

Ndi - ya - li - la pa - mbi kwa - ko, Su - sa zon - k'i - zo - no zam.

Source for the music: adapted from the version published in *The European Magazine and London Review* (Philological Society of London), Vol. 22, November 1792, p. 385. This example provides an idea of how the hymn might have been sung, and is not intended to be definitive.

This example shows that early Anglican hymnody was not necessarily distinctly Anglican: neither the tune nor the text were Anglican in origin, and the hymn was not found in any Anglican hymnbook of the time. The text of Wesleyan Methodist origin and the tune of Italian folk origin are both features that provide some indication of the first moments of hymn singing on Anglican-Xhosa missions which involved (and required) adopting hymns from other denominations. They show us that hymnody was a form of cultural expression which was made up of different strands of influence taken from other places and which took on new forms. When it came to music, missionaries such as Greenstock were, in essence, making do with the forms that were familiar, and creating hybrid forms of expression.⁵⁴

Linguistic expertise would have been one reason why the Anglicans adopted the hymnody of other denominations. The text is an example of how many new hymns that emerged in the Eastern Cape blended European conventions with an African language. Dugmore's isiXhosa text was strophic, and had an a – b – a – b rhyming scheme in each verse. The metre was 8.7.8.7, the number of syllables commonly used for a trochaic pattern of weak and strong syllables. Dugmore's selection of this metre suggests that he had some understanding of isiXhosa as he mostly followed the natural stresses of the language. isiXhosa metre is penult, meaning that the main stress comes on the penultimate syllable of each word, hence, for example, '*Bawo*', and '*ngobubele*'. Furthermore, Example 5.2 shows that the weak and strong beats in both text and tune coincided. What the example shows

⁵⁴ On the creation of new forms of expression in Indian Protestant missions, see Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 15.

further is that it was not always easy to find a tune that matched the tonal shape of the text. isiXhosa is also an inflected language (meanings of words are determined and affected by tonal variations) so a tune's shape could alter a text's meaning for a mother-tongue speaker. Tonally, the tune and text did not always coincide here: sometimes the melody ascended when the sound of a word needed to descend, and vice versa. For example, the natural inflection on the first word, '*Bawo*' is to go down in tone on the second syllable. This is in conflict with tune which causes the tone of the word to rise on the second syllable.

Indigenous agents were pivotal in this practice of adoption. For example, at a service on 9 August 1869 Peter Masiza led the singing of another Wesleyan missionary hymn '*Bonindini niyapina*'.⁵⁵ Another cause was ecumenical collaboration. Interdenominational services appear to have taken place from time to time, and at these events hymns were sung. One hymn known to the Anglicans, '*Yesu, Langa lokulunga*' ('Jesus, the Sun of goodness'), another Dugmore hymn, was sung at an Easter Day service attended by Anglicans and Wesleyans in 1860.⁵⁶ William Greenstock was also an instigator for the compilation of a '*Common Kafir Hymnbook*' although this project did not appear to reach fruition.⁵⁷ Adoption, therefore, was driven by three related, and, at times, overlapping factors: pre-existing familiarity, indigenous knowledge, and ecumenical activity.

Themes

In Western Christendom, broadly speaking, hymns were meant to instruct rather than to convert, and so were more for the converted than the unconverted.⁵⁸ While singing may have been used to attract people into church services, the ideas expressed in the texts of hymns were to instruct those already within the church. Once missionaries had converted, or attracted, people into the church, they needed to offer them something and the theology expressed in hymns was one way of doing this. Hymns, therefore, served important didactic functions. What missionaries could not control, of course, were the ways in which these ideas were received and interpreted, and, given the absence of evidence, this is something that eludes us. Nonetheless, examining missionary hymns can tell us something of the ideas and

⁵⁵ USPG E.24 (1869), f. 1171: P. Masiza 'Letter to SPG Secretary'.

⁵⁶ USPG E.7 (1860), f. 339: William Greenstock 'Report' 8 April 1860. Ecumenical services appear to have been a feature of other fields of mission. See, for example, C. Gilder, 'Missions in Bombay', *The Mission Field* 1 April 1867, p. 162 for an account of a mission service attended by Wesleyans, Anglicans, and Roman Catholics.

⁵⁷ USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1143: William Greenstock 'Report' 30 September 1869.

⁵⁸ See Bradley, *Abide with me*, p. 110.

themes that missionaries wanted their congregations to know and why they used hymns that already existed.

One strategy Anglican missionaries adopted to achieve conversion was to attempt to convince unconverted Xhosa that their non-Christian lifestyle was, simply put, wrong, and that they would only achieve fulfilment by embracing the ways of Christianity. Those converted to Christianity, many of whom had family and friends who remained unconverted, needed to be convinced that their previous life was not something to which they should return. Missionary hymn texts, therefore, were intended to get people to ask questions about their lives. The end was to encourage converts to put on the new ways of life offered by missionaries, and to forget about the old pre-Christian ways of living.

Missionary hymns played an important part in imparting religious ideas often by presenting a set of simple, recurring binaries taking from themes in the Bible: light and dark, life and death, salvation and condemnation, to name a few. These themes (commonly found in European hymnody) were transported and transplanted into the hymnody of the mission field where they were applied in missionary teaching in order to present the choice of lifestyle that missionaries were offering to indigenous people. For example, light was associated with missionaries and the Christian lifestyle, and contrasted with darkness, which was associated with heathenism. Likewise, foolishness and ignorance were contrasted with understanding. There were also associated themes of separation, dissatisfaction and restlessness. Missionaries thought that presenting converts with these rhetorical options would encourage introspection and critical thought in their converts' minds. These strategies and themes can be seen in the following three examples. '*Bonindini niya pina*' (Example 5.3) was addressed directly to the singers of the hymn ('Where are you going / To where are you drawn?') and encouraged the singers not to look back on their former, 'heathen' way of life ('This is the way of surrender / From which all must turn away').⁵⁹ The series of questions at the beginning of the hymn asks about lifestyle and motive, and questions if the non-Christian life is the correct way to follow.

⁵⁹ I am very grateful to Thembisa Mbunjelwa and Robin Burnett for their advice and help with this translation.

Example 5.3 Text of ‘Bonindini niya pina’

isiXhosa text Source: <i>Amaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zabakristu ezisemaxoseni nezisembo</i> (1869)	English translation
Bonindini, niya pina, Apo nitsalela kona? Nakukuba, noti nina Nakugwetywa ngokukona?	Where are you going in life? Where are you heading to? When it’s like that what are you going to do? Are you going to be judged because you sin?
Leyondlela yiyekeni, Pambukani nonke kuyo: Iyasinga ekufeni; Nqumamani, nenz’ ubuyo.	You must leave/surrender that road, You must change you course: It goes in the direction of death; Stand still/stop and make a return.
Nants’ indlela yenyano, Iyasinga ebomini; Nants’ indlela yonwabiso, Yokapela ezulwini.	This is the way of truth, It is fixed on grace [?] This is the way of happiness, Which ends in heaven.

In a similar way, ‘*Yesu, Langa*’ (Example 5.4) uses words such as ‘*ukudungudela*’/‘to stray’ (verse 2, line 1) and ‘*lahleka*’/‘to be lost’ (verse 4, line 2) to draw attention to the waywardness missionaries wanted converts to associate with the heathen lifestyle. This is also evident in ‘*Tixo wetu*’ (Example 5.5) which emphasises that it is through ‘our Lord’ that Christians have been able to enter the new life. The hymn mentioned concepts we have already encountered such as foolishness and ignorance, but the singers here were being asked to seek help from God to keep away from evil (‘*ububi*’, verse 4, line 1) and focus on the way to heaven (‘*Masingene ezulwini*’ = ‘Let us enter into heaven’, verse 4, line 3). The converts who sang this hymn were the followers of God. They had entered into ‘good’, associated with light and contrasted with evil. Those who did not follow were associated with ‘*ubudenge*’ (foolishness or ignorance) and ‘*ebubini*’ (lit. ‘in evil’). The emphasis on fault is also seen in the constant references to and reminders of sin. For instance, in ‘*Bawo ngobubalo*’ (Example 5.1), each verse ends with the refrain ‘*susa zonk’ izono zam*’ (‘Remove my sins’). The repetition reminded singers about deliverance and salvation, both ideas which missionaries needed to emphasise to their converts.

Example 5.4 Text of '*Yesu, Langa lokulunga*'

isiXhosa text Source: <i>Amaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zabakristu ezisemaxoseni nezisembo</i> (1869)	English translation
Yesu, Langa lokulunga, Kanya entliz'yweni yetu, Bonakala sakukunga, Susa ubumnyama betu.	Jesus, the Sun of goodness, Shine in our hearts, Appear we pray/beseech Remove our darkness.
Kade sasidungudela, Umpefumlo ungaboni; Langa lokulunga, vela, Sibonise tina 'zoni.	Long ago we went astray, The soul did not see; Sun of goodness open, And make us see who have been lost.
Entliz'yweni, xa ungeko, Sisitokotoko sodwa; Vela, Langa, maubeko, Kube kukukanya kodwa:	In the heart Of our wickedness alone; Appear, Sun, and may you fix [us] To shine for eternity.
Siyihamb' indlela nayo; Singalahlekani nayo; Side ngokukanya kwako, Size ezulwini ngayo.	We are walking on this road; We are also not lost; We at last are in your light, We are going to heaven by means of it.

Another recurring theme in hymns was death. Avoiding death in the Christian sense meant not going to hell, and involved turning away from an 'old life' and adopting a new way of life. For instance, in the second verse of '*Bonindini*' (Example 5.3), the way of a non-Christian life is associated with death, and is contrasted with '*indlela yenyaniiso*'/'the way of truth' which leads to heaven and happiness. Hymns also introduce concepts such as the soul (see '*Tixo wetu*', Example 5.5 verse 2, line 4) which was the form in which Christians believe they go to heaven. Such messages about death served to encourage converts to denounce not only their former way of life, but also anyone who continued to adhere to it. Converts were being encouraged to think about heaven and eternal life, and the route that was going to get them there was the way of life offered by missionaries.

Example 5.5 Text of ‘*Tixo wetu, singenile*’

isiXhosa text <i>Amaculo okuvunywa ezikolweni zabakristu ezisemaxoseni nezisembo</i> (1869)	English translation (annotation in NLSA AZ.1990-11: <i>Incwadi yamaculo kunye nengoma sokuvunywa</i> (London: Elliot and Stock, 1891).
Tixo wetu, singenile Endaweni yokukunga; Wena usingenisile, Sifundiswe ukulunga. Nceda isicaka sako Ekufundiseni kwaso; Hlisa ukanyiso lwako Pezu kompefumlo waso. Vula ezindlebe zetu, Siliqonde elilizwi: Susa ubudenge betu, Nobudenge bezizizwe. Masisinde eubuni, Ngalo elilizwi lako; Masingene ezulwini, Ngabo ububele bako.	Our Lord we have entered Into thy place of praising; Thou hast made us to enter, Teach us to be good. Help Thy servant From his teaching: Descend [drop] Thy lightness Upon his soul. Open our ears That we must understand this word Take away our foolishness And the ignorant of these nations. We must be safe from evil By it Thy word; We must enter into heaven, By thy kindness.

Indigenous responses

Determining the responses of indigenous congregants, both converts and non-converts, to these themes, and what their interpretation of them was, is not easy given the lack of evidence. As we saw in Chapter 4, hymns were taught in schools alongside literacy and numeracy, and were part of the catechetical education provided for converts. According to missionary reports, converts participated, to varying degrees, in hymn singing. For instance, William Greenstock noted that ‘*Bawo ngobubalo*’ was ‘heartily’ sung and that the ‘melody was very cheering.’⁶⁰ When singing ‘*Yesu, Langa lokulunga*’ was reported it was in the context of a joint congregation composed of Anglican and Wesleyan converts.⁶¹ The singing was again described as ‘hearty’, suggesting again that it was well-known, especially so because it was a hymn that was part of the Wesleyan hymn repertoire. ‘Hearty’, we saw earlier, was a word often used by missionaries to describe hymn singing and might be taken to suggest that the singing was boisterous because the congregation knew the hymn and was

⁶⁰ USPG, E.4 (1858), f. 79: William Greenstock Report, 2 May 1858.

⁶¹ USPG, E.7 (1860), f. 339: William Greenstock Report, 8 April 1860.

confident singing it. John Gordon's comment that the hymn singing 'was very hearty as is invariably the case at the Sunday Evening Services' would suggest that the congregation knew the hymns well and so were able to participate.⁶² Likewise, Peter Masiza recalled how '*Tixo wetu*' was sung by 'the whole congregation' as they entered into the 'chapple [*sic.*] hut'.⁶³ Yet congregational responses and participation varied. William Greenstock would send reports with comments like 'The singing was not quite so hearty to-day – they did not seem to know the tune well', and that he had had to sing alone.⁶⁴

Hymns might not always have been a reliable form of encouraging participation from congregants and those who attended services. There is not enough documentation or evidence to examine in order to determine what the response of congregations was to hymns and hymn singing. An isolated example is found in a report by Peter Masiza in which he recorded the bemused reaction of a congregant.⁶⁵ As he began singing the hymn '*Bonindini*' a woman began to laugh because, according to Masiza, 'she don't no [*sic.*] what I am doing'. Pre-existing hymnody, more generally, was not always known and remained an unfamiliar genre and style of music-making and could often have been greeted with ambivalence and suspicion.⁶⁶

Adaptation of hymns to suit Anglican use

As well as adopting hymns, Anglican missionaries adapted hymns. Here, the most common strategy was to create something that was musically different so that the text became sonically distinctive. In what follows, I briefly discuss, with reference to two examples, how Anglicans drew on texts and tunes from different sources in order to create their own distinctive style. This typically involved making use of hymn texts well-known in the Eastern Cape and setting them to familiar Anglican tunes.

⁶² USPG, E.25 (1869), f. 1171: John Gordon 'Report' 19 December 1869.

⁶³ USPG, E.23 (1868), f. 1171: Henry Waters/Peter Masiza 'Report' 20 November 1866.

⁶⁴ See USPG, E.4 (1858), f. 79: William Greenstock Reports for 16 May and 20 June.

⁶⁵ USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1171: P. Masiza 'Report' 9 August 1869.

⁶⁶ For a discussion see Michael Webb, 'Heart, spirit and understanding: protestant hymnody as an agent of transformation in Melanesia, 1840s-1940s', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 50:3 (2015), 275-303 (pp. 283-7).

In his report about Easter Day in 1867, John Gordon noted that his congregation sang two hymns, ‘*Pezulu Enkosini*’ and ‘*Moya Oyingcwele*’ (Examples 5.6 and 5.8).⁶⁷ Both of these texts appeared in Wesleyan hymnbooks, but not in later Anglican collections. Gordon made a point of stipulating the names of both the tunes used. These had been taken from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. ‘*Pezulu Enkosini*’ was sung to the tune INNOCENTS (Example 5.7), an adaptation by W.H. Monk (1823-89) of a 13th century French melody, and ‘*Moya Oyingcwele*’ to the tune set for the hymn ‘Brief life is here our portion’, which would have been ST ALPHEGE by H.J. Gauntlett (1805-76) (see Example 5.9a and 5.9b).⁶⁸ As Monk was the musical editor of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and Gauntlett was known as a composer of music for the Church of England, the music of these two composers was inextricably linked with Anglican identity.

Example 5.6 Text of ‘*Pezulu enkosini*’

isiXhosa Source: <i>Amaculo</i> (Wesleyan) 1869	English translation
Pezulu enkosini, Kuk’ amalunga odwa; Pezulu ezulwini, Kuhlel’ ingcwele zodwa: Ofun’ ukuya kona, M’asuk’ ayek’ ukona. <i>Metre 7.7.7.7.7.7</i>	<i>Upwards to the Lord, There alone is goodness; Upwards to the Lord, From there alone comes holiness: Those who want to go to it, Let us go to it.</i>

Adapting hymns in this way presented problems, however. Take, for example, ‘*Moya oyingcwele*’ which was in the Wesleyan hymnbook of 1869. There were two hymns with that as a first line and both are presented in Example 5.9a and 5.9b, although we don’t know which one Gordon used.⁶⁹ In any case, neither of the texts would have neatly fitted to the tune named by Gordon. ‘Possibility 1’ had eight lines of text, with six syllables per line; ‘Possibility 2’ had four lines in 6.6.8.6 metre. Both versions had verses with either 26 or 52


⁶⁷ USPG E.21 (1867), f. 175: John Gordon, ‘Report’ 19 April 1867. Sung on 21 April, Easter Day.

⁶⁸ *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was first published in 1861 and became the main hymnbook for the Church of England. It is discussed in further detail in the next chapter. The Anglican identity associated with *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is also discussed in further detail in Chapter VI. Gauntlett was famous for his tune IRBY, which came to be associated with ‘Once in Royal David’s City’. W.H. Monk was the musical editor of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Both tunes appeared in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861).

⁶⁹ See numbers 44 and 140 in *Amaculo okuvnywa ezikolweni zabakristu ezisemaxoseni nezisembo* (Mount Coke: 1869).

syllables of text.⁷⁰ Although the tune had the same number of notes as the text had syllables, the tune had a 7.6.7.6 metre. In other words, some of the lines had fewer notes than syllables in the isiXhosa hymn and this would have meant that the phrases of the text and those of the music would not always have coincided, as the two possibilities in Example 5.9 shows.

Example 5.7 INNOCENTS and ‘Pezulu enkosini’



Pe - zu - lu e - nko - si - ni, Ku - k'a - ma - lu - nga o - dwa; Pe - zu
lu e - zu - lwi - ni, Ku - hle - l'i - ngcwe - le zo - dwa.

Two lines without music:
Ofun' ukuya kona,
M'asuk' ayek' ukona.

It is difficult to say with any certainty why missionaries would have chosen tunes that did not fit the text, as presumably the problems identified above would have been evident even with limited linguistic skills. This picks up on a point made in the previous section about familiar texts: that missionaries chose certain texts because they knew congregants would be familiar with them and their themes. What was happening here, therefore, was that new tunes were being introduced to make these texts distinctive. One speculative reason is that missionaries used particular tunes because congregations knew them and words were made to fit in. For instance, Example 5.7 shows that INNOCENTS would have had fewer lines of music (and notes) than text. If this tune was indeed used, the text must have been adapted to fit the music otherwise two lines of text would have been left out (*‘Ofun’ ukuya kona, / M’asuk’ ayek’ ukona.*). This suggests that we cannot presume hymns were sung mostly syllabically as they would have been in English. It is possible that words or whole lines were repeated to make the tune and text fit together. Later, when missionaries had better linguistic knowledge, they would comment that hymns composed by European and adapted for

⁷⁰ Possibility 1 had eight lines of text, but this could have been sung in split verses, i.e. one verse could become two verses of four lines each.

isiXhosa were, for example, ‘stilty’, meaning that the tunes did not always complement the rhythms of the text.⁷¹

Example 5.8 Comparison of two possibilities for ‘*Moya oyingcwele*’ from *Amaculo* (Wesleyan), 1869)

Possibility 1		Possibility 2	
isiXhosa	English	isiXhosa	English
Moya oyingcwele! Yiza pezu kwetu; Usikanyisele Intliziyo zetu; Siya silahleka, Singakatshwa nguwe; Nanku sesibeka Ngentliziyo kuwe. Metre 6.6.6.6D	Holy Spirit Come from above to us You will make our hearts to shine. We are going to become lost	Moya oyingcwele, Mus’ ukumka kumi, Noko ndilwileyo nawe, Ndakutshikilela. Nanku ndizenzile Into elukuni; Ndikwalile, Nkosi yami, Yonke leminyaka. Metre 6.6.8.6	

Example 5.9a ST ALPHEGE and ‘Moya Oyingcwele’: ‘Possibility 1’

Mo - ya o - yi - ngcwe - le! _____ Yi - za pe - zu kwe - tu; U -
Si - ya si - la - hle - ka, _____ Si - nga - ka - tshwa ngu - we; Na -

si - ka - nyi - se - le. _____ I - ntli - zi - yo ze - tu;
nku se - se - be - ka _____ Nge - tli - zi - yo ku - we.

⁷¹ See, for example, USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1225: Henry Waters, ‘Report’, 30 June 1869.

Example 5.9b ST ALPHEGE and ‘Moya Oyingcwele’: ‘Possibility 2’

Mo - ya o - yi - ngcwe - le, Mu - s'u - kum - ka ku - mi, No -
 Na - nku ndi - ze - nsi - le I - nto e - lu - ku - ni; Ndi -

ko ndi - lwi - le - yo nawe, Nda - ku - tshi - ki - le - la.
 kwa - li - le, Nko - si yami, Yo - nke le - mi - nya - ka.

Hybrid hymns (in other words, those that put pre-existing texts with a new, Anglican tune) such as the ones discussed here illustrate the first step that Anglican-Xhosa missionaries made towards producing their own hymnody even though such attempts at adaptation may have resulted in a clumsy mismatch of tunes and texts. A lot of this could be attributed to linguistic naivety. Being able to report, however, that specific tunes were being sung was another way of demonstrating that an Anglican identity was being created for their hymn repertoire. The distinguishing feature, as we saw in the two examples, was the tune. It was the music that gave the text a new identity and made it (to an insider of Anglican hymn culture, at least) unmistakably from the Anglican-Xhosa missions.

Introduction of new hymns

The final strategy that missionaries used was to introduce new texts and tunes. Introduction was important for missionaries because it made their practices distinct from other missionary denominations, as it presented something sonically different to indigenous converts.

Furthermore, this strategy was particularly effective at showing that specific cultural and religious realignments towards Anglican practices were taking place within the local population. Introduction did not necessarily follow on neatly from the stages of adoption and adaptation. Rather it occurred from the early stages of Anglican-Xhosa missions, although the gradual acquisition of printing presses – something that marked out this phase – would certainly have enabled missionaries to increase the amount of their own material that they could produce.

Introduction has three identifiable strands. The first involved missionaries using hymns that they knew themselves (or were likely to have known). In other words, they taught what was familiar and introduced these hymns when occasions and circumstances allowed.

Often a special occasion or liturgical feast would provide an opportunity to teach new hymns to indigenous converts. John Gordon, for instance, taught ‘new chants and hymns for Christmas.’⁷² The second type saw missionaries drawing on resources such as hymnbooks and pamphlets that missionaries brought with them to the mission field, or that become available once they had commenced work. Printed resources (usually produced in Britain) which contained both texts and tunes enabled them to transmit and introduce new music. In addition this provided a basis from which to translate texts into isiXhosa. Finally, printing presses allowed missionaries to print their own pamphlets, and, eventually, hymnbooks. These contained the authorized texts and tunes that missionaries were then able to permit to be sung in their services.⁷³

What they already knew

The Anglicans’ own hymns were sung on occasions when they wished to make their physical and spiritual presence known. The earliest known instance of Anglican hymnody was notably one-sided and partisan. In January 1855 (see Table 5.1, 1855), Revs Harding and Greenstock sang the Te Deum. They were accompanying their superior, Bishop Gray, on a visit to Umhalla, a Xhosa chief who had granted land to the Anglicans to establish a mission.⁷⁴ In the presence of the chief and his entourage, the three clergymen sang the evening service which they concluded by singing the Te Deum. Not only was hymn singing part of the very first act of Anglican mission work among the Xhosa, it also impressed Umhalla and his company, or at least this was the impression that the missionaries had.

As this hymn was an important part of Anglican liturgy, the Te Deum continued to be sung regularly on missions by the missionary priests and congregations. The length of the text did not seem to deter missionaries from introducing it to their congregations, probably for two reasons: not only was it a key liturgical text, but also the evidence suggests that it was the method of chanting it that made it appeal.⁷⁵ Chanting the music meant following the natural rhythms of the text, rather than following a metrical tune. This made it easier for the

⁷² USPG E.25 (1869), f. 1171: John Gordon ‘Report’, 31 December 1869.

⁷³ As we saw in Chapter 4, printing was an important means for missionaries to disseminate their selected musical styles, and we shall see this again in Chapter 6.

⁷⁴ C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 298.

⁷⁵ The first printed translation appeared in *Incwadi yemitandazo* (London: Watts, 1865). This was a version of the *Book of Common Prayer* in isiXhosa. Most of the texts were direct translations into Xhosa of the English originals.

natural speech rhythms to be followed and so made the hymn more intelligible for mother tongue speakers. Missionaries clearly saw this as being the case as is shown by John Gordon recalling how he heard it chanted by Xhosa in the huts located on his mission.⁷⁶ Henry Waters was similarly enthusiastic about the hymn, and noted in particular that it was chanted. Describing one performance of the hymn he wrote: 'The chanting was really stirring, particularly the words in the Te Deum, "day by day we magnify Thee."' ⁷⁷ It was important for missionaries that their congregations could render musically these key texts as Henry Waters noted on several occasions how the singing of the Te Deum was 'exciting' and hearty'.⁷⁸

Missionaries sang what they knew not just because they had an ability to sing certain texts and tunes, but also because of their knowledge of the associations that were attached to certain hymns. In other words, hymns represented cultural and religious knowledge. Hymn tunes that were already known by missionaries were rich in historical, political, and cultural associations. An example of a tune rich in cultural association was OLD HUNDREDTH.⁷⁹ John Gordon reported in *Gospel Missionary* that he often heard women singing the tune while chopping wood in a forest behind the mission station.⁸⁰ The importance was not just that the hymn was being sung: it also evoked many well-known and well-established cultural meanings arising out of associations, which were important to those in the know of missionary culture.⁸¹ Although a tune that was written in Geneva and taken from the French Genevan Psalter of 1551, it was known in Britain as a 'national tune', one that illustrated 'past, present and future' styles of harmonization.⁸² William Henry Havergal (1793-1870) codified the history of the tune in his *A History of the Old hundredth psalm tune, with specimens* (1857).⁸³ As Havergal's book shows, there were strong associations with the tune

⁷⁶ John Gordon, 'School in Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1860, p. 28.

⁷⁷ USPG, E.25 (1870), f. 1237: Henry Waters, 'Report' 30 September 1870.

⁷⁸ USPG, E.13 (1862), f. 239: Henry Waters 'Report' 18 December 1862 and USPG E.15 (1864), f. 213: Henry Waters 'Report' 18 April 1864.

⁷⁹ Nicholas Temperley, 'OLD HUNDREDTH', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/o/old-hundredth>> [accessed 17 September 2019].

⁸⁰ John Gordon, 'A mission in Kaffraria', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 September 1861, p. 137.

⁸¹ Grant Olwage has noted how Victorian hymnologists were driven to discover ancient tunes. See Grant Olwage, 'Discipline and Choralism: The Birth of Musical Colonialism', in *Music, power, and politics*, ed. by Annie J. Randall (New York: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 25-46 p. 35).

⁸² Temperley, 'OLD HUNDREDTH'.

⁸³ W.H. Havergal, *A History of the Old hundredth psalm tune, with specimens* (London: Sampson Low, 1857).

and its 'ancient' origins. Havergal traced the origins of the music back to the 'Gregorian' tune thereby confirming its status as one of the true and authentic tunes of the Church of England. 'Gregorian' also reinforced the sonic credentials of this tune as belonging to the established church rather than the dissenting ones. 'Gregorian', as we saw earlier, was also important to clergy and missionaries who belonged to the more ritualistic camps of the Church of England, such as the S.P.G. Furthermore, Havergal argued that the tune's performance history in Britain dated from the 1560s, with its musical roots stretching back further to plainchant.⁸⁴ The 'Gregorian' character of the tune, and its significance to the Church of England was also a further sonic means of setting it apart from the non-Conformist or dissenting denominations.

The tune was also significant because it was rich in missionary associations. It was chosen by Rev Samuel Marsden to be the first tune to be sung when he commenced mission work in Australia. From his recollection of the event, it was clear that the tune signalled the beginning of the work of Christian missions: 'A very solemn silence prevailed. The sight was truly impressive. I rose up and began the service with singing the Old Hundredth Psalm, and felt my very soul melt within me, when I viewed my congregation.'⁸⁵ To render OLD HUNDREDTH in the mission field was to show that Christianity was taking root. The tune represented the sonic embodiment of both ancient and modern.

The 'ancient' or 'old' hymns were often the most significant for British missionaries working abroad, and the ones that they highlighted in their reports.⁸⁶ Although the associations with these were derived from Britain, a place far away from the mission field, and most indigenous people may have been unaware of them, the tunes and texts were a means for missionaries to show those who were sympathetic towards and supportive of their cause that they were making a presence overseas. Translations into many languages were put in missionary journals to encourage missionaries and to demonstrate what was happening elsewhere in other languages.

Hymns that were introduced also demonstrated identification along denominational and political lines. By the late 1860s, missionaries had begun translating hymns that were well-known to Anglican congregations in Britain. One example was 'Jerusalem the golden'

⁸⁴ Havergal, *Old hundredth Psalm Tune*, p. 32.

⁸⁵ Havergal, *Old Hundredth Psalm Tune*, p. 48.

⁸⁶ For one of many examples, see A.B. Hutchinson, 'Translation of Christmas Hymn: Adeste Fidelis', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 1 November 1879, p. 460.

which William Turpin reported was sung 'in Kafir' at the consecration of a new chapel.⁸⁷ For those present, including the Bishop, Dean, two Archdeacons, and several missionary priests, it would have been poignant to have music which projected a specifically Anglican identity. 'Jerusalem the Golden' sung 'in Kafir' was a translation of a translation: John Mason Neale's English text was based on a 12th century hymn by Bernard of Cluny.⁸⁸ The hymn was therefore not only Anglican, on account of its inclusion in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, but also ancient. Other examples of popular Anglican hymns from Britain which were reported as having been sung on the Cape were 'O Paradise' and 'Pilgrims of the Night'.⁸⁹

There were also hymns that contained nationalistic themes, such as 'God save the Queen'.⁹⁰ William Greenstock, for instance, taught the boys at his mission school to sing 'God save the Queen' by memory.⁹¹ A visitor to a mission school in Grahamstown also observed the children learning the 'National Anthem' alongside their other instruction in writing and numeracy.⁹² The national anthem was also sung when Sir Bartle Frere, governor of the Cape Colony, visited St Matthew's mission.⁹³ Teaching hymns with nationalistic

⁸⁷ USPG, E.21 (1867), f.225: William Turpin 'Report' [n.d.]

⁸⁸ John Mason Neale (1818-1866). His translation was included in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861.

⁸⁹ USPG, E.25 (1869), f. 1171: John Gordon 'Report' 31 December 1869. Both hymns were by F.W. Faber (1814-63). 'Pilgrims of the night' was the name by which the hymn 'Hark, hark, my soul' was known. According to John Julian it became 'exceedingly popular' after its inclusion in the 'Supplement' to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1868). See John Julian, 'Hark, hark, my soul; Angelic songs are swelling', in *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by John Julian (London: John Murray, 1892), p. 406.

⁹⁰ 'God Save the Queen' had been performed in Britain since September 1745, and by the nineteenth century was well-established as an anthem. There was a popular historiography that demonstrates the significance that the tune and words held by the nineteenth century. For an example of how these nineteenth century ideas came to be established as accepted, see Percy A. Scholes, *God save the Queen! The history and romance of the world's first national anthem* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954). The tune which Thomas Arne used was a folk melody and so had been established even longer. See J.R. Watson, 'God save our gracious Queen (King)', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <[http://www.hymnology.co.uk/g/god-save-our-gracious-queen-\(king\)](http://www.hymnology.co.uk/g/god-save-our-gracious-queen-(king))> [accessed 17 September 2019].

⁹¹ USPG, E.5 (1859), f. 287: William Greenstock Report 14 March 1859.

⁹² E.W., 'A letter from South Africa', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1858, p. 31.

⁹³ C. Taberer, 'Grahamstown', *The Mission Field*, 1st April 1878, p. 166. Missionaries elsewhere in the world reported on singing the National Anthem for visiting colonial government officials. See, for example, the report The Bishop of Adelaide, 'Mission at Poonindie', *The Mission Field*, September 1857, p. 195 where it was reported that '[to] the great pleasure of his Excellency, the National Anthem was played very well by Her Majesty's native Australian subjects, which was immediately followed by three cheers for the Governor.'

themes was also common practice elsewhere in the world. For instance, missionaries in British Columbia taught their students to sing ‘God Save the Queen’ and ‘Rule Britannia’, while the former hymn was also taught to mission station school students in Zululand.⁹⁴

Using their own resources

In this period of introducing hymns Anglican missionaries began using sources with a more overt Anglican identity. What they already knew was, to a certain extent, determined by the resources they had at their disposal. Just as it was important for them to say that certain texts and tunes were being sung, it was also important for missionaries to be able to say that they were taking music from particular resources and this was important for a number of reasons, not least that it was a way of showing a common identity with missionaries worldwide.

Missionaries would often mention that they were using their own resources, usually books that had a definite Anglican identity. For example, a number of missionaries mentioned that they were using a book called ‘Mercer’, as we saw in the previous chapter. This was William Mercer’s collection of psalms and hymns *The Church Psalter and Hymnbook*.⁹⁵ In 1862, E.T. Green, the missionary at St John’s, said he was using ‘Mercer’s Hymn-book.’ According to Green, ‘the music is simple, easy, and beautifully arranged.’⁹⁶ This book was also used by John Gordon, who followed Green as missionary at St John’s, suggesting that resources may have varied from station to station, depending on what the missionary knew, what was available, and what had already been used.⁹⁷ This meant that there might have been some variation between different mission stations as to what was being sung as this was being determined by what resources a particular missionary was using. At this stage there was not yet a common hymnbook for the Anglican-Xhosa missions so the use of a particular resource was confined to the places where it was available. After *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was published in 1861, missionaries began taking hymns from here. The use of this book on the Anglican missions is not surprising as it had a specifically Anglican

⁹⁴ British Columbia: W.K. White, ‘The Mission of Harbour Briton’, *The Mission Field*, November 1856, p. 245; Zululand: Archdeacon Welby, ‘First impressions in Natal ... Seeing and Hearing’, *The Mission Field*, December 1857, p. 278.

⁹⁵ William Mercer and John Goss, eds., *The Church Psalter and Hymnbook*, (London: Jewell and Letchford, 1855).

⁹⁶ E.T. Green, ‘A colonial mission in Africa’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1st November 1862, p. 170.

⁹⁷ USPG, E.25 (1869), f. 1171: John Gordon ‘Report’, 31 December 1869.

identity.⁹⁸ It became widely used in Britain and the British world, and sat alongside the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer as the essential books of the church. The influence of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* on the Anglican-Xhosa missions is discussed further in Chapter 6.

What missionaries knew not only had practical significance in the field, but also provided a musical link with Britain and other parts of the world. This was another aspect of the knowledge which came with hymns. This is, in many ways, was a means of maintaining links with Britain and comparisons and connections would often be made. For example, Henry Waters noted that the singing at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek was 'rendered in a style that would do credit to any English congregation.'⁹⁹ Further links were also demonstrated by hearing a familiar tune being sung. Albert Maggs, shortly after his arrival in the Eastern Cape in 1861, noted after a service at St Mark's station: 'We could not understand the words, yet we could recognise tunes with which we had been familiar in England, and which we afterwards found to be some of those used in the Kafir service at St Mark's.'¹⁰⁰

Hymns from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* were being translated from into many languages around the world and any missionary who read *The Mission Field* would have known this. Such hymns, therefore, took on a further significance for it allowed missionaries to make connections with Britain and the rest of the world. Both tunes and texts stirred memories and were a means to express what being part of an international mission project meant. Despite a change in language and location, neither the universal message of hymns or the links and memories they represented were lost. Familiar hymns were able to ameliorate the distance and separation that many missionaries felt. As the Anglican-Xhosa missionaries began adapting more of their own hymns they began to generate more material and this period of adaptation and introduction led to a need to print their own material.

⁹⁸ For the following account I draw on Gordon A. Knights, Alan Dunstan, & Gordon Giles, 'Hymns Ancient and Modern', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/h/hymns-ancient-and-modern>> [accessed 17 September 2019].

⁹⁹ USPG E.23 (1868), f. 1205: Henry Waters, 'Report', 31 March 1868.

¹⁰⁰ Albert Maggs, 'Kaffrarian missions', *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 January 1861, p. 5.

Printing new hymns

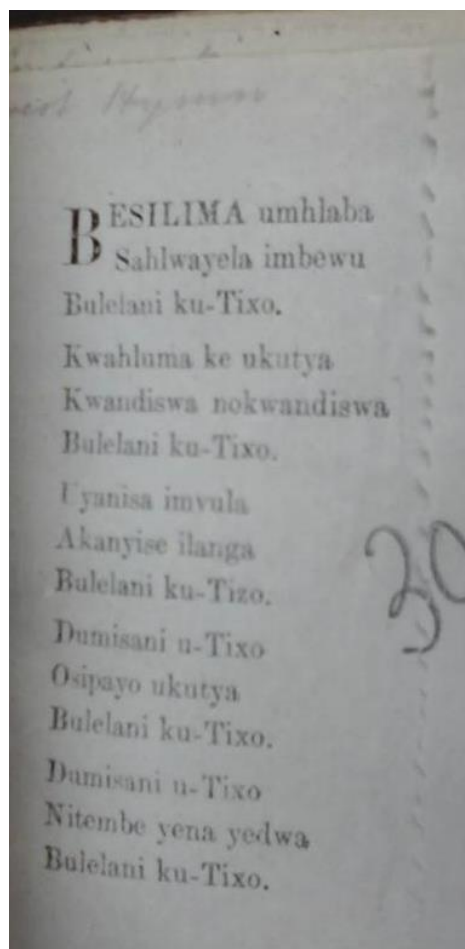
Printing presses were gradually acquired by missionaries with the main stations each having one by the 1860s.¹⁰¹ As was the case elsewhere in the world, this enabled missionaries to print not only hymns, but also a variety of other texts in local languages.¹⁰² An example of the printing done on the Anglican-Xhosa missions was provided in 1861 by William Greenstock with a letter to the S.P.G. Secretary (see Figure 5.1).¹⁰³ One was a Xhosa version of Psalm 100, and the other ‘*Besilima umhlaba*’ which was marked a ‘harvest hymn’. This hymn is evidence of early attempts by Anglican missionaries to produce hymnody of their own in isiXhosa. It does not appear in any contemporary or later hymnbooks of any other denomination and was possibly a composition by Greenstock himself, or someone else associated with the mission such as an indigenous catechist.

¹⁰¹ Reports were sent in to *The Mission Field* of hymns being printed in other languages throughout the late 1850s and 1860s. For instance, a report in the edition for 1 March 1869, p. 117, noted that eight hymns and the Te Deum had been printed in isiZulu by a missionary in Zululand (the region neighbouring diocese of Grahamstown) at Springvale Mission.

¹⁰² For instance, missionaries at Bishop’s College in Calcutta (Kolkata) identified ‘the translation of the Scripture, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts adapted to the use of natives’ as an important and immediate aim. See ‘Bishop’s College Calcutta’, *The Mission Field*, 2 November 1868, p. 317. Missionary periodical and journals contained reports from around the world of printing activities. For instance, [no author], ‘Progress of mission work in Borneo’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 August 1867, p. 118, reported that in Borneo missionaries had printed the catechism in Sarawak Arthur Brinckman, ‘Mission work in Cahsmere’, *The Mission Field*, 1 July 1867, p. 280 reported that the New Testament had been printed in Chasmeree (Kashmiri).

¹⁰³ USPG E.9 (1861), f. 301: William Greenstock ‘Letter to SPG Secretary’ 11 October 1861.

Figure 5.1 The hymn '*Besilima umhlaba*', printed at St Matthew's Mission, Keiskammahoek, c. 1861.



Source: USPG, E.9 1861, f. 301.

Example 5.10 ‘Besilima umhlaba’

isiXhosa	English translation
Besilima umhlaba Sahlwayela imbewu Bulelani ku-Tixo.	We have ploughed the earth We have sown seed Give thanks to God/the Lord.
Kwahluma ke ukutya Kwandiswa nokwandiswa Bulelani ku-Tixo.	Food will come up More and more Give thanks to God/the Lord.
Uyanisa imvula Akanyise ilanga Bulelani ku-Tixo [sic.]	You cause it to rain You put in motion the sun Give thanks to God/the Lord.
Dumisani u-Tixo Osipayo ukutya Bulelani ku-Tixo.	Praise the Lord Who gives us food Give thanks to God/the Lord.
Dumisani u-Tixo Nitembe yena yedwa Bulelani ku-Tixo.	Praise to the Lord All trust in him alone Give thanks to God/the Lord.

Some features of the text are worth highlighting (see Example 5.10). Structurally, it is written in strophic form with five verses each of three lines of text. Each line consists of 7 syllables, resulting in the unusual hymn metre of 7.7.7. This is noteworthy because not many tunes exist to match with this metre. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861), for example, provided only one tune in this meter, ST PHILIP, by W.H. Monk (1823 – 1899) (See Example 5.11 which shows how this may have looked).¹⁰⁴ The 7.7.7 meter of the tune put the stress on the first beat, and consequently the first syllable of text, which was contrary to the isiXhosa where the natural stress lay on the penultimate syllable of each line (see verse one in Example 5.10 where the isiXhosa stressed syllables are underlined). The text sought to redress any pre-existing beliefs about control of the earth. It made it clear that it was (the Christian) God who controlled the sun and rain and provided food. The repeated final line of each verse emphasised the message. The hymn then, not only introduced a specific mode of marking the harvest, but introduced the customary Book of Common Prayer commemoration of harvest.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ From 1857, W.H. Monk was the musical editor of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

¹⁰⁵ Harvest-themed festivals known as Lammas Days were kept on 1 August and 1 September according to the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Example 5.11 First verse of ‘Besilima umhlaba’ with the tune ST PHILIP

Be - si - li - ma u - mhla - ba Sa - hlwa - ye - la

i - mbe - wu Bu - le - la - ni ku - Ti - xo.

Conclusion

For missionaries, hymns were a key indicator of the progression of mission work, because they were such a constant feature of mission station life. At the same time the hymns that were sung reflected the changing nature of mission as they involved a process of selection and invention for everyone involved in their performance. They indicate some of the concessions that missionaries had to make when it came to forms of religious expression. Missionaries had to create opportunities to involve local indigenous people, and the examination of the hymn in this chapter has shown that music was a useful means for doing this in a number of ways. Hymns involved congregations as participants, and they also provided a way to delegate responsibility to indigenous converts, especially because those who were catechists or teachers taught hymns and led congregations in singing them. In these early stages indigenous converts also no doubt assisted missionaries with translation, and exercised agency in this way.

Although this chapter has examined a highly-localised case study, it is important to remember the levels on which singing hymns reflected the international character of missionary work. Missionaries in the Anglican-Xhosa mission field were aware that versions of the hymns they were singing were being sung elsewhere in the world. While the language was different, let alone the actual sound of the hymn, energy was expended on creating local versions of hymns so that they could be sung. What was important was the essence of the hymn, in and of itself, and that this was being transposed and translated, literally and figuratively, into the mission field. The fact that the same hymns were being sung in Africa, India, and other parts of the world, as in Britain, created a sense of international collective identity. Of course, the hymns were being sung in different languages, and sometimes to different tunes but this further highlights how they were significant in two ways. First, the act

of singing a hymn was as important as the theology that was being expressed and internalised in the minds of the singers. Second, the transformation was a negligible part of the process because for missionaries the essence of the musical act of singing a particular hymn remained the same. This was partly because at the early stages of mission work, missionaries were not yet aware of linguistic nuance nor the ways in which the shape of a hymn melody could influence the meaning of a text.

The importance of hymns lay in the fact that they provided a yardstick, or point of reference for missionaries and their supporters elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Catherine Hall has argued that the missionary world was simply a given in Britain and people made assumptions about it: the familiarity of hymns – so much a part of domestic life in nineteenth-century Britain was one of the means which allowed people in Britain to make assumptions about the missionary world and, indeed, to imagine the mission field aurally.¹⁰⁷ Although the readers of missionary reports were probably not familiar with the sound of texts in isiXhosa, they would have been able to recognize and identify a specific tune, and so could imagine what was being heard on the Anglican-Xhosa missions. The standardised nature of the hymn genre created a sense of familiarity, but what is revealed in this is that hymns, like other forms of missionary knowledge, reflected different realities. The genre was at once familiar, but also undergoing changes to meet the demands of the local context.

Hymnody on the Anglican-Xhosa missions involved input from a variety of sources that were not necessarily Anglican in origin. What this case study shows us is that the Anglican-Xhosa hymn was a form of knowledge and expression that did not emerge *ex nihilo*. British missionaries had to draw on a variety of sources before they could set about creating their own, distinctive musical identity. Generating musical practice, in other words, was a collaborative process that involved input and involvement from a variety of sources and highlights for us the complex process that was the creation and unfolding of missionary knowledge.

¹⁰⁶ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation*, p. 82 observe how the European self in a foreign environment became at once known and unknown and familiar objects and acts although they had become unfamiliar remained the yardstick for judging and assessing the local context.

¹⁰⁷ Catherine Hall and Sonja Rose, 'Introduction: being at home with the Empire', in *At home with the empire: metropolitan culture and imperial world*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonja Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) argue that the missionary world was so much a part of life in 19th century that people readily assumed what it was like.

CHAPTER 6 – Mission Hymnody, Part Two

Introduction

This chapter examines the hymns used on the Anglican-Xhosa missions between the years 1869 and 1875. While the previous chapter focussed on hymns that were used before Anglican-Xhosa missionaries began printing their own hymnbooks, this chapter looks at the next phase, when missionaries had procured the technology and skills to produce printed hymn books. In this chapter, I consider how mission hymnbooks tell us about the ways in which mission communities saw themselves, and how they wanted to be heard. Singing mission hymnody, as I shall show, involved exposure to religious and cultural meaning, not just musical sound. Through an examination of the forces and influences that shaped the repertoire of hymns that was sung on missions, we can better understand the ways in which forms of missionary knowledge were reinterpreted and fashioned to reflect the realities of the local context.¹

Building on the previous chapter, my aim is to offer a new approach to understanding mission hymnody. Previously, scholars have taken the translation of hymns from English into isiXhosa to be a manifestation of ‘cultural imperialism’, concluding in the words of A.J. Bethke that missionaries were ‘forcibly enculturating the Xhosa and completely undermining their traditional way of life’.² Hymnody, in short, was a way of making the Xhosa ‘Europeanised’ through music.³ This approach focusses exclusively on the most obvious musical outcome – performance – and provides a narrow view of what is a much more complex process. In this chapter, rather than concentrate on the effects of performance, I look at the causes by taking into account the people who made and interacted with these hymns and the hymnbooks, the different ways in which they engaged with hymns, and their

¹ Catherine Hall, *Civilising subjects: colony and metropole in the English imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: Chicago University Press), p. 142 points out the tensions between how texts were intended to be received and how they were interpreted.

² This is the view of A.J. Bethke, ‘The Roots of Anglican Music in Southern Africa: A Historical Survey of Anglican Music in the Cape’, *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 83:1 (2014), 1-19 (p. 17).

³ See, for example David Dargie, ‘South African Christian Music B: Christian Music Among Africans’, *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History*, ed. by Richard Elphick & Rodney Davenport (James Currey: Oxford, 1997), pp. 319-326.

motivations for doing so.⁴ This approach will build on scholarship that has explored how elsewhere in the world missionary converts used missionary texts, most often from the Bible, and argued that these were used to fashion their own aims for self-determination.⁵ Hymnody was a form of expression that included active participation from both British missionaries and indigenous converts, and by juxtaposing both of these, this chapter will articulate a further nuance to the encounter between missionaries and indigenous peoples.⁶

This chapter thus takes hymnody to have been constituted on two main levels.⁷ The first is as a performance of cultural and religious values. The second, is as a means to reflect and facilitate various strands of religious and cultural knowledge.⁸ Those who contributed to and participated in mission hymnody each brought a variety of cultural and religious backgrounds with them. In order to explore these aspects further I provide a close analysis of a mission hymnbook by using the Anglican-Xhosa missions as a case study. I look at the process of assembling and creating the book, the texts and tunes of the hymns, and what these show us about the complex web of beliefs and meanings to which those who used the book were exposed.⁹

⁴ As Grant Olwage has noted, while black musicality was appropriated by missionaries, at the same time western musical styles were adopted by the Xhosa. See his 'Black Musicality in Colonial South Africa: A Discourse of Alterities', in *Gender and Sexuality in South African Music*, ed. by Chris Walton and Stephanus Muller (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2005), pp. 1-9 (p. 6).

⁵ For example, see the studies of (1) Lamin Sanneh, *Whose religion is Christianity?: the gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans, 2003) and (2) Pier M. Larson, *Oceans of letters: language and creolization in an Indian Ocean diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶ For example, see: (1) Adrian Hastings, *The church in Africa, 1450-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 644-85; (2) Justin Willis, 'The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Bonde', *Past and Present* 140 (1993), 127-45; and (3) Terence Ranger, 'Taking Hold of the Land: Holy Places and Pilgrimage in Twentieth Century Zimbabwe', *Past and Present*, 117 (1987), 158-92.

⁷ On hymns as expression of culture, see J.R. Watson, 'Ancient or Modern, 'Ancient and Modern': The Victorian Hymn and the Nineteenth Century', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 36:2 (2006), 1-16.

⁸ For a detailed discussion of imperial and mission networks, see Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: creating identities in nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 5-8.

⁹ As Tony Ballantyne has observed, this image of a network or web 'captures the integrative nature of cultural traffic, the ways in which [...] institutions and structures connected disparate points in space into a complex mesh of networks.' See Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 39.

The first Anglican-Xhosa hymnbooks: *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) and *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873)

The hymnbook I shall examine is known as *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873). In December 1869, Alfred Newton, missionary at St Peter's Gwatyu, reported to the S.P.G. that he had published a hymnbook.¹⁰ Copies of the 1869 book do not appear to have survived, but the second and third editions have, and provide some idea of the state of hymnody on Anglican mission stations for the period 1869-1875.¹¹ In this chapter, I am going to focus specifically on the 1873 hymnal.

As Newton's *Incwadi Yamaculo* drew so heavily (by his own admission) on *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, some description must be given of this book, as it is important to understand the significance it had for those who used it. The first *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was published in 1861 and contained 273 hymns.¹² An *Appendix* was produced in 1868: this contained a further 130 hymns. Between them, then, these books provided 403 hymn texts and tunes for use in Anglican churches. The books appeared at a time of a hymnbook printing boom in which *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was marketed as a hymnbook for the Anglican church and as a companion to *The Book of Common Prayer*. This link with *The Book of Common Prayer* was emphasised by its structure: hymns were provided for every season of the church's year, by contrast to earlier hymnals, or those of other denominations, which tended to have been arranged according to doctrinal themes.

There was a wider context to the production of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* that is also important to understand. The book was produced in a period when the hymn enjoyed huge popularity because the hymn genre was an important vehicle of expression for British religious and cultural values. As Jeffrey Richards has noted, hymns became '[as much a] part of the imaginative inner life of the [British] people as any musical form.'¹³ Hymns were sung

¹⁰ USPG E.25 (1869), f. 1201: A.J. Newton, 'Report', December 1869.

¹¹ There are copies in the NLSA, Cape Town Grey Collection: G.39.a.39 (1873) and G.39.b.2 (1875).

¹² Its early history and creation have been well documented. See, for example: (1) Adam Fox, *English hymns and hymn writers* (London: Collins, 1947); (2) Trevor Beeson, *In Tune! Accords* (London: SCM Press, 2009); and (3) Gordon A. Knights, Alan Dunstan, and Gordon Giles, 'Hymns Ancient and Modern', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/h/hymns-ancient-and-modern>> [accessed 10 September 2019].

¹³ Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and music: Britain, 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 367.

not only in churches, but in homes, schools, and at community events. What was noted in Chapter 5 is worth reiterating here: between 1837 and 1901 it is estimated that 400,000 hymns were written, and 1200 separate hymn book titles were published.¹⁴ The sheer volume of hymns produced provides some indication of their ubiquity, and suggests that their poetry and music became embedded in the minds of many people.

Hymns were being sung in every denomination by the mid-nineteenth century. While *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was branded as an Anglo-Catholic hymnal it strove simultaneously to appeal to the broader church by emphasising its place in the lineage of the Church of England's history. Robert Moorsom noted in his *A Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern* that *Hymns Ancient and Modern* contained Latin hymns 'from the first 15 centuries'.¹⁵ This was reflected in the texts and music which were drawn from sources found at the oldest Christian foundations in England: Durham, Salisbury, York and Hereford. The 'ancient' was put alongside more contemporary material (the 'modern'): the hymnbook contained hymns from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as new hymns by its editors and other contemporary hymn writers. There were also hymns from outside the Anglican tradition, such as those by Charles Wesley and Isaac Watts, both non-conformists. In short, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* embodied the essence of Anglican historical and musical identity.¹⁶

No data is available to show the pattern of circulation for *Hymns Ancient and Modern* outside Britain.¹⁷ Within the first three years, 350,000 copies had sold in Britain; surveys

¹⁴ Ian Bradley, *Abide with me: the world of Victorian hymns* (London: SCM Press, 1997), p. 4, and Richards, *Imperialism and Music*, p. 368.

¹⁵ Robert Moorsom, *A historical companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern; containing the Greek and Latin; the German, Italian, French, Danish and Welsh Hymns; the first lines of the English hymns; the names of all authors & translators; notes and dates* (London: Parker and Co, 1889); p. vii.

¹⁶ Jeremy Dibble, 'Musical Trends and the western church: a collision of the "ancient" and "modern"', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities, c. 1815-1914*, ed. by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 121-35 (p. 135).

¹⁷ Several studies have mentioned alluded in passing to the book's use and popularity in parts of the British world. For example, see Andrew Selth, *Burma, Kipling and Western Music: The Riff from Mandalay* (New York: Routledge, 2017) who refers to the use of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* use in Burma. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries it was common practice in other denominations to import hymn books from Britain and use them to introduce hymns. For a discussion of this practice in Australia see D'Arcy Wood, 'Worship and music in Australian Methodism', in *Methodism in Australia: a history*, ed. by Glen O'Brien and Hilary M. Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 181-196 (pp. 191-2).

have calculated that by 1868 as many as four and a half million copies had sold.¹⁸ It has been estimated that by 1900 over 10,000 parish churches in Britain – a third of all parish churches – were using it, with 35 million copies having been sold.¹⁹ Missionaries would have been the main group responsible for its export. Mission periodicals contained reports that missionaries were using the book in different parts of the world where it took on new forms and underwent transformations. In 1868, a missionary from North America reported that his congregations sang using hymns from the book.²⁰ In Natal, the hymnbook was used in at least two different places, while one missionary from St Helena wrote that ‘the Africans chant well, and sing hymns from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.’²¹ Another in India reported that his congregations were singing versions of hymns in Budnaira.²² Whether the hymns were being sung in English or translation is not always clear, but many missionaries were making use of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Wherever in the world that the book was being used by missionaries, its contents needed refashioning, and *Incwadi Yamaculo* provides a case study of how missionaries were refashioning *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and the implications of this refashioning. Newton’s book bore little external resemblance to the book on which it was based. Compared to *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, Newton’s books were sparse: the 1869 book was 10cm x 6.9cm, and contained 48 hymns. The 1873 book was physically bigger 13cm x 7cm and had 59 hymns printed on 48 sides of paper.²³ The pages of the 1873 book was put in a simple paper binding, and on the front cover was printed ‘*Incwadi Yamaculo*’ (literally ‘Book of Songs’, i.e. hymnbook) and ‘*Ishicilelwe e-St Peter’s Mission e-Gwatyu. 1873*’ (‘Printed at St Peter’s Mission, Gwatyu, 1873’). The price of the book was three pence. On the first page of the book was printed ‘Hymns Ancient and Modern’. There was no preface, introduction, or

¹⁸ Stephen Wilson, ‘Religious and social attitudes in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1889)’, *Social Compass*, 22:2 (1975), 211-36.

¹⁹ There are no definitive figures but Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: its development and use in worship* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1915), p. 510, calculated that by 1895 it was being used in 10,340 out of 13,636 parish churches, and 28 cathedrals.

²⁰ [Mr Walters], ‘The cold by night’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 February 1868, p. 20.

²¹ Natal: E.W. Jacob, ‘Journal of a clergyman in the African bush during the rainy season’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 August 1867, p. 123; and S.T. Tozer, ‘Richmond, Natal’, *The Mission Field*, 1 August 1867, p. 327. St Helena: J. Hands, ‘Notes of the work of missionaries: St Helena’, *The Mission Field*, 2 November 1868, p. 325.

²² C. Kirk, ‘Missions in Bombay’, *The Mission Field*, 1 April 1867, p. 163.

²³ ‘Bibliographical note’ in *Iculo lase-Tshetshi: church hymn book in the Xosa language* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1949), iv.

indexes, as found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. The contents, however, were drawn almost exclusively from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

It is important to understand that Newton's book was produced in the context of a worldwide dissemination of British hymnody. Seen in this way the book provides an example of how the hymn genre took on particular and local manifestations outside Britain. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was essentially a brand of hymnody grounded in Britain, but in practice it was a worldwide phenomenon that had an ideology attached to it and it was this that missionaries sought to replicate even if their resources could not produce a carbon copy of the original. Further, the exportation of hymns or entire hymnbooks from Britain was by no means a case of creating something pristine or simply direct copying. The format of Newton's books, and, as we shall see, their contents, show us that it was important for missionaries to be able to say that they were using *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*. But what will become clear through the course of this chapter is that while the book was always referred to by its title, this was used by missionaries to signify something familiar as the hymns took on new forms whether this came through translation or putting texts with new tunes. Transformation was primarily linguistic, but the new forms were also often musical as missionaries made the material useable for newly-converted local Christians. Having outlined the source missionaries were wanting to emulate, I now look in further detail at how this process unfolded in the case of Newton's publication for the Anglican-Xhosa missions.

Production and Distribution

As we saw in Chapter 5, Anglican-Xhosa missions had begun printing material before Newton produced his first hymnbook in 1869. As far as we know, all that had been produced before this were several pamphlets and single page tracts. In this section, I explore some of the factors behind the process that led to the hymnbook's production and distribution. It was certainly the case that print technology enabled missionaries to disseminate material over a wide terrain, and it has been argued by, for example, Susan Thorne and Anna Johnson that print was of vital importance to the advance of Christian mission work in the nineteenth century, not just in the mission field but also in metropolitan societies.²⁴ While a much

²⁴ Susan Thorne, 'Religion and Empire at home', in *At home with the Empire*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 143-65. Anna Johnston, *Missionary writing and empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

smaller effort compared to its counterpart *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the rationale behind Newton's book was much the same: a mass-produced hymnbook was capable of reaching a wide usership. The only other significant printing project was the isiXhosa translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, but this was printed and produced in Britain.²⁵ The most immediate users were isiXhosa speakers, but then there were also those beyond the mission field. As I will show, the book, therefore, had a local use, but it was also something tangible that could show what was happening on their missions. Knowing more about the book's distribution and those who encountered it will help us to understand better the values that the book represented.

Local beginnings

The first group of users were involved directly and physically in the printing process. Investing in a printing press rather than importing books was not only cheaper, but also a means of demonstrating progress as a printing works opened up new opportunities for employment and the development of skills and trade.²⁶ Newton's hymnbook began its life at the printing office he established at his mission station.²⁷ Here he would have been assisted by Xhosa assistants, who were trained to become pressmen and compositors.²⁸ These jobs involved selecting the correct letter types, arranging them into words and then into lines. Once a page was completed, this was placed in the press, inked and impressed onto the sheets of paper. This was intricate work which required direct involvement and physical contact.²⁹ What this shows is that before local, indigenous people encountered the hymn book as a part of worship, it was experienced in a tactile and hands-on way. At this stage a different kind of cultural exchange was taking place: one that also involved acquiring an understanding of

²⁵ The book was prepared by Henry Woodrooffe and other missionaries and published by the S.P.C.K. in Britain in 1865. See William Muss-Arnolt, *The Book of Common prayer among the nations of the world* (London: S.P.C.K., 1914), p. 338.

²⁶ Julia Cagé and Valeria Rueda 'Long-term effects of the Printing Press in Southern Africa' (April, 2014), <<https://ssrn.com/abstract=2292660>> [accessed 7 June 2019], p. 6.

²⁷ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1699: A.J. Newton, 'Report', 30 September 1874. For a survey of wider missionary printing activities in Southern Africa during the period in question, see Anna H. Smith, *The spread of printing: South Africa* (Amsterdam: van Gendt, 1971), pp. 53-60 & pp. 73-7 (for detail on Anglican printing activity).

²⁸ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1699: A.J. Newton, 'Report', 30 September 1874.

²⁹ For a detailed description of how a printing press was operated and the personnel this involved, see Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 198-200.

European methods of mechanical labour. For the small group of indigenous converts involved in the printing this was one of the levels on which the book was understood.

Those in the second group were part of mission communities and used the book in mission church services. The primary audience which was expected to engage with these hymns was the local, indigenous population as it was to them that the book was made available for purchase, ownership and use. The reach enabled here from the availability of printing was extensive and this is shown by Newton's report on the activities of his printing press in September 1874.³⁰ He reported that from his press he had run off 6300 books and pamphlets; and these materials were accompanied by other ephemera such as confirmation cards.³¹ He printed 1500 copies of *Incwadi Yamaculo* in 1873. Taken with the 700 copies of the 1869 edition, at least 2200 hymnbooks were put into circulation during these five years. It is not clear if missionaries intended these texts to be read, or how regularly they anticipated they would be used, but it is remarkable that they were produced and read at all. Considering that Newton's 1874 statistical return for his mission noted that there were 300 amaXhosa Christians who attended his mission, this would suggest that the hymnbooks produced at St Peter's enjoyed a circulation both within and beyond that particular mission.³²

Beyond the mission field

The final group of people were those who lived beyond the mission field. Many of this group would not have seen a physical copy but would have read about it and understood its ideological significance. Distribution was not only local: the hymnbook was known, to varying degrees and in different ways, beyond the immediate vicinity of Anglican-Xhosa mission communities. Newton made its existence known by recording it in his regular report, and this was mentioned beyond S.P.G. circles: John Julian noted it in his article on 'Mission Hymnody' in *A Dictionary of Hymnology*. To people in this wider circle, the hymnbook was known but without having had direct experience of it. Simply put, it was another artefact that became part of a cultural body of knowledge concerned with worldwide hymn practices. It contributed to this in diverse and complicated ways, one of which is illustrated by the example of the copy used as source material for this chapter.

³⁰ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1699: A.J. Newton, 'Report', 30 September 1874.

³¹ As a comparison, the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* reported that Presbyterian mission presses in Shanghai had printed 25,698,221 pages, four new books, and 10,335,200 pages of Scripture: 'The Presbyterian Mission Press at Shanghai', 1 December 1868), p. 167.

³² USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1703: A.J. Newton, 'Report', 23 November 1874.

The copy of the 1873 Xhosa hymnbook consulted for this chapter is part of the Grey Collection at the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town.³³ Originally, it formed part of the Grey Library, named after Sir George Grey, to which it was sent for deposit by A.J. Newton himself.³⁴ Grey established his library to reflect the identity of the Cape and South Africa which he saw as both European and African. In the collection, medieval manuscripts, incunables, and early printed books, sat alongside printed material in languages from all over Africa and New Zealand, places where Grey had been governor.³⁵ There were several motivations shaping Grey's collecting which ranged from personal interest to a desire to create an international repository where material documenting culture in a wide variety of forms could be held. Grey issued lists of the material he wanted and required in order to create his ambitious collection, in which hymnbooks were included.³⁶ In the Cape, missionaries of all denominations were in regular correspondence with Grey about the material they were printing and they sent items for deposit in Grey's Library.³⁷

For this final group of people who lay beyond the mission field, the book was experienced and thought about as part of a cultural web of knowledge rather than as a tactile, functional object. As an object, it might never have been read or seen by many people, but its significance lay as much in its imagined physicality as in its part in a much wider system of cultural knowledge. For each of these groups, the music of the hymns in Newton's books held meaning according to the musical experience and knowledge of they had experience of it.³⁸

³³ NLSA G.9.a.39.

³⁴ A note kept inside NLSA G.9.a.39 shows that it was sent to Capetown by Newton for deposit in the Grey Collection Library.

³⁵ James Rutherford, one of Grey's biographers, noted that Grey set out to 'build up a library of literary treasures from Europe, and spared no effort to form a complete collection of books and manuscripts about the language and customs of the African natives.' J. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey K.C.B., 1812-1898: a study in colonial government* (London: Cassell, 1961), p. 302.

³⁶ For a description of Grey's methods of collecting, in particular of African material see Donald Jackson Kerr, *Amassing treasures for all times: Sir George Grey, colonial bookman and collector* (Delaware: Otago University Press, 2006), p. 114-5. Grey's collection included what was thought to be the 'oldest African hymnbook' (Kerr, *Amassing treasures*, p. 122).

³⁷ Kerr, *Amassing treasure*, p. 115.

³⁸ See Gary Tomlinson, 'The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology', *19th Century Music*, 7:3 (1984), 350-62. (pp. 351-2).

Organisation

I turn now to look at how the book's arrangement and how the way it was designed to be used facilitated the understandings I have just outlined. The 59 hymns found in *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873) were arranged in a way that followed, loosely, the conventions set by *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Appendix H (p. 277) is an alphabetical index (by first line) of *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873) and summarises the information found with each hymn. The third column provides the section in which each hymn was found (this is discussed further below). The fourth column shows the number which indicated where the tune would be found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and the final column gives the name of the tune that is found at that number in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Users of this book were, therefore, provided with everything they needed to perform a hymn, but they would have needed a copy of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in order to find the tune assigned to a specific hymn text. For example, next to hymn 49 (XLIX), '*Kwaye kuko abalusi*', was printed 'Tune 44'. This indicated the number in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* where the tune could be found.³⁹ This would suggest that either the missionary knew the tune by heart, or had access to an additional hymnbook which had tunes printed in it. It also presents the possibility that the set tune may not have been sung if the book was being used by people who did not know the tunes in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* or did not have a copy with music in it.

Seasonal arrangement

The hymns were arranged in three ways (see Table 6.1) and it is important to know more about this because where a hymn was placed determined, to a large extent, its interpretation. First, there were section names taken from *Hymn Ancient and Modern*. This scheme followed the chronology of the church year and occasions found in the *Book of Common Prayer* as well as hymns for certain times of the day, or particular days that needed to be observed. The book began with hymns to be sung in the morning and evening ('*Amaculo Akusasa*' and '*Amaculo Angokuhlwa*'). There were also hymns for Sundays ('*Immini Ye-Cawa*'), Holy Communion ('*Umtendeleko Ongcwele*') and the founding of a church ('*Ukusekwa Kwe-Kerike*'), all of which were also found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. The section titled '*Ngemihla Yabangcwele*' (literally, 'Days of Saints' i.e. Saints' Days) would have covered all saints days, unlike *Hymns Ancient and Modern* which specified

³⁹ '*Kwaye kuko abalusi*' was a translation of the hymn 'While shepherd watched their flocks by night'. The tune to which it was sung was WINCHESTER OLD.

hymns for certain saints' days. The chronology of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and the church year was not strictly adhered to as hymns for Easter ('*IPASIKA*') appeared before hymns for Christmas ('*I-Krisimasi*') – these two feasts follow in the opposite order in the church year – but this could be explained as a printing error. As another example, the season '*Imbandazelo Zika-Kristu*' alludes to Passiontide whose usual place would be before Easter, but here it was placed towards the end of the book.

Table 6.1 The seasonal arrangement of <i>Incwadi Yamaculo</i> compared with <i>Hymns Ancient and Modern</i>	
Seasons in Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861)	Seasons in Xhosa Hymn Book (1873) and extent of hymns in each section
Morning	Amaculo Akusasa (Morning) 1-2
Third Hour, &c.	Amaculo Angokuhlwa (Evening) 3-7
Evening	Amaculo Okutandaza (Hymns of Praying/Prayer) 8-18
Sunday	Elokucela Imvula (Asking for rain) 19
Monday, &c.	Amaculo Okubonga (Hymns of Praise) 20-31
Advent	Ngekonzo Ka-Tixo (In the service of the Lord) 32-35
Christmas	Ngemihla Yabangcwele (Saints' Days/Holy Days) 36-37
S. Stephen's Day	Ubaptizesho (Baptism) 38
S. John's Day	Umtendeleko Ongcwele (Holy Communion/Lord's Supper) 39-40
Innocent's day	iPasika (Easter) 41
Circumcision	Immini Ye-Cawa (Sundays/Church Days) 42-43
Epiphany	Ukubekwa Kwezandhla (Confirmation) 44
The Week before Septuagesima	Ember Weeks 45
Septuagesima, &c.	Icawa yo-Mtriniti (Trinity Sunday) 46
Lent	Ngomhla Womgwebo (The Day of Judgment) 47
On the Passion	I-Krisimasi (Christmas) 48-49
Easter	Indhlu ka-Tixo (The House of the Lord) 50
Rogation Days	I-Yerusaleme (Jerusalem) 51
Ascensiontide	Imbandazelo Zika-Kristu (The suffering of Christ) 52-53
Whitsun Eve	Kwakugqitywa Umbedesho (The conclusion/finishing of prayer) 54-55
Whitsuntide	Ukusekwa Kwe-Kerike (The Foundation of a Church) 56-59
Trinity Sunday	
General Use	
Holy Communion	
Baptism	
Confirmation	
Holy Matrimony	
Ember Days	
Missions	
Burial of the Dead	
For those at Sea	
Harvest	
School Festivals	
Almsgiving	
Friendly Societies	
Times of Trouble	

Thanksgiving New Year's Day Laying of the Foundation Stone of a Church Feast of the Dedication of a Church Conversion of St. Paul Purification of the B.V. Mary Annunciation, &c., of B.V. Mary Nativity of St. John the Baptist S. Michael and All Angels All Saints' Day Apostles Evangelists Martyrs, &c. Supplement (1868) Evening Sunday St Stephen's Day Epiphany Lent On the Passion Easter Ascensiontide General Use Transfiguration Holy Communion Baptism Confirmation Ember Days Missions Burial of a Child Harvest For the Young Almsgiving Hospitals Time of Cattle Plague New Year's Eve Annunciation Martyrs Processional	
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The second arrangement assigned titles of sections found in other contemporary isiXhosa hymnals prepared by missionaries of non-conformist denominations.⁴⁰ These were

⁴⁰ Missionaries in Zululand and elsewhere made use of each other's materials. See Norman Etherington, 'Outward and visible signs of conversion in Nineteenth-Century Kwazulu-Natal' in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32:4 (2002), 422-439 (p. 426).

named by concepts and themes, as opposed to seasons and commemorations. For example, there were titles such as ‘*Amaculo Okubonga*’ (‘Hymns of Praise’) and ‘*Amaculo Okutandaza*’ (‘Hymns of Prayer’). IsiXhosa versions of hymns were being used for several seasons or sections. For instance, hymn 16 ‘*Ngalemini yakho Nkosi*’ was found in ‘*Amaculo Okutandaza*’ in *Incwadi Yamaculo* but in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* the English original, ‘Lord, in this thy mercy’s day’, appeared in the section of hymns for Lent. This shows the possibility that hymns were not used exclusively for the seasons or sections in which they were placed in a particular book.

Finally, there were hymns in sections which had a specific focus on the activities of mission. Titles such as ‘*Ngenkonza Ka-Tixo*’ (‘In the service of the Lord’) and ‘*Kwakuqitywa Umbedesho*’ (‘The conclusion/finishing of prayer’) are unique to this hymnbook and highlight the fact that the book was intended for the mission field. One section which addressed a local concern was the section of hymns for rain. Although there was no section of hymns asking for rain in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the *Book of Common Prayer* provided a prayer for rain, which was translated for the 1865 isiXhosa *Book of Common Prayer*. Supplicating for rain was common to both Anglican and Xhosa religious frameworks.⁴¹ But as it played a much greater role and held greater significance in the latter, this connected indigenous converts and non-converts alike. Missionaries often wrote that Xhosa chiefs would attend services when there were prayers offered for rain, or after there had been rainfalls.⁴²

The arrangement of the hymns also demonstrates a subtle way in which one mission community distinguished itself from another. Table 6.2 shows how the compilers of *Incwadi Yamaculo* emphasised different themes in the hymns they borrowed from the Wesleyans by assigning a new section heading. For instance, ‘*Abangcwele banoyolo*’, the first hymn listed, was used by the Wesleyans as a hymn about ‘death and the day of judgment’, while in *Incwadi Yamaculo* it was used for saints’ days (‘*Ngemihla Yabangcwele*’). In addition, this would have reinforced a distinction not only between the Anglicans and other denominations,

⁴¹ For an outline of Xhosa religious beliefs and practices concerning rain, see: (1) Janet Hodgson, *The God of the Xhosa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 75-80; (2) B.A. Pauw, *Christianity and Xhosa tradition: belief and ritual among Xhosa-speaking Christians* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 63 and 81.

⁴² John Gordon, ‘A Mission in Kaffraria’, *The Gospel Missionary*, 1 September 1861, p. 131; Dora Green Stanier, *The first hundred years 1873-1973: the story of the diocese of St John’s* (Umtata: [Diocese of St John’s], 1974), p. 36.

but also a further sectarian one within the Anglican church. The veneration of the saints was more important in Anglicanism than it was in Wesleyanism. But within Anglicanism, the ritualistic wing of the church, which saw itself as more Catholic, would have placed greater emphasis on the observation and veneration of the saints than the Evangelical wing of the church. There were some exceptions, such as '*Nkosi sihlange*' which was used in both Anglican and Wesleyan hymnbooks as a hymn of prayer. These sorts of interpretive differences show us that Anglican-Xhosa missionaries were reframing familiar and pre-existing material to create their own form of expression and emphasised their own denominational theology.

Table 6.2 Wesleyan hymns in *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873) comparing how hymns were assigned according section.

First line	Section/Season in <i>Incwadi Yamaculo</i>	Section in Wesleyan Hymnal
'Abangcwele banoyolo'	<i>Ngemihla Yabangcwele</i>	<i>Amaculo angokufa nangomhla wokugweba</i> ('Hymns of death and the day of judgment')
'Izono zam zininzi'	<i>Amaculo Okutandaza</i>	<i>Amaculo afanele amagqoboka</i> ('Hymns for the converted')
'Kristu umkululi wethu'	<i>Amaculo Okubonga</i>	<i>Amaculo angaye u-Kristu nomsebenzi wake</i> ('Hymns to Christ and his workers')
'Nkosi Bawo sikangele'	<i>Elokucela Imvula</i>	<i>Amaculo alungele amaxesha atile: Awemvula</i> ('Hymns appropriate/fitting for certain times: rain')
'Nkosi ndiyakudumisa'	<i>Amaculo Okubonga</i>	<i>Amaculo okutandaza</i> ('Hymns of prayer')
'Nkosi sihlange	<i>Amaculo Okutandaza</i>	<i>Amaculo okutandaza</i> ('Hymns of prayer')
'Pezulu enkosini'	<i>Amaculo Okubonga</i>	<i>Amaculo axela okwezulu nokwabaya kona</i> ('Hymns to ask for the kingdom to be here')
'Singaboni sinetyala'	<i>Amaculo Okutandaza</i>	<i>Amaculo afanele amakolwa</i> ('Hymns to suit believers')
'Ukukonza eNkosini'	<i>Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo</i>	<i>Amaculo axela okwezulu nokwabaya kona</i> ('Hymns to ask for the kingdom to be here')

‘Uyindhlela yenyano’ (based on ‘Uyindlela elungile’)	<i>Amaculo Okubonga</i>	<i>Amaculo angomoya oyingcwele</i> (‘Hymns about the Holy Spirit’)
‘Wasizek’ isonka YESU’	<i>Umtendeleko Ongcwele</i>	<i>Amaculo alungele amaxesha atile: Isakramente yomtendeleko wenkosi</i> (‘Hymns appropriate/fitting for certain times: the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper’)
‘Yanga inkiziyo yam’	<i>Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo</i>	<i>Amaculo afanele amakolwa</i> (‘Hymns to suit believers’)
‘Yesu! wena uyindhlela’	<i>Amaculo Okubonga</i>	<i>Amaculo angaye u-Kristu nomsebenzi wake</i> (‘Hymns {...} Christ and his workers’)
‘Yinto eyoyikekayo’	<i>Ngomhla Womgwebo</i>	<i>Amaculo angokufa nangomhla wokugweba</i> (‘Hymns of death and the day of judgment’)

The structure of the book provided a sense of the liturgical year's shape, as well as providing devotional material. Both these aspects of the book's arrangement provided communities and congregations with a shared framework in which to experience what Jeremy Begbie has called ‘seasonal waves’: the observation of particular times and seasons in a set, pre-ordained order.⁴³ The effect is that a devotional cycle operated on not only a personal but also a communal level. Another significant structural feature was the incorporation of ideas and material from sources outside the realm of Anglican hymnody, namely those from other denominations, in this case the Wesleyan missionaries. For some local users who had experience of Christianity, many of these texts and possibly the tunes would have been familiar, but the change was that they were now singing in an Anglican context. For missionaries, there was something at once familiar and unfamiliar. They would have known the originals from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and recognised many of the tunes. The essence of the book, however, was that it was based on *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and this was an important link for them to make as it was something which connected one mission field with others elsewhere because they were experiencing a similar seasonal pattern.

⁴³ Jeremy Begbie, *Theology, music and time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 169.

Texts in *Incwadi Yamaculo*

Translating texts

As we have already seen, missionaries all over the world devoted great amounts of time and energy to translating hymns into vernacular languages, a practice that was fundamental to realising their theological aims and beliefs. Translation was deeply embedded in missionary practice, and this has its basis in nineteenth-century missionary theology. This was no less the case for the Anglican-Xhosa missionaries, for whom translating texts was a priority

Missionary work drew direct inspiration from the Bible, and this informed many aspects of mission practice, not least translation. One image from the Bible familiar to missionaries would have been this one from the Revelation of John: ‘a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb [...] and cried with a loud voice.’⁴⁴ These precedents from the Bible had support from contemporary doctrinal frameworks which informed Anglican belief. Since 1549, when the first Act of Uniformity which established the Book of Common Prayer, and the doctrine it embodied as the sole legal form of worship, was passed the Anglican church was clear in its policy on language and the church’s liturgies. The ‘Thirty-nine Articles of Religion’ which defined the Church of England’s doctrines and practices, addressed the topic of language. Its twenty-fourth article said: ‘It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God [...] to have Publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understandeth of the people.’⁴⁵ Liturgical texts, including hymns, were purposefully repeated by design in order to inculcate religious themes and beliefs. Repetition of themes could only be effective if the language in which they were spoken or sung was understood.⁴⁶ Missionaries who were well-versed in these doctrines would have begun as soon as possible to translate hymns and other parts of the liturgy into isiXhosa in order to provide their converts with texts that could be understood.

⁴⁴ Revelation, Chapter 7:9-10.

⁴⁵ The ‘Thirty-nine Articles’ were effectively unchanged after they were passed in 1571. This quotation is taken from *The Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford: The University Press, 1856), p. 162.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Gilbert Burnet, *An exposition of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1805), p. 352-5; or Robert Louis Cloquet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (London: James Nisbett, 1885).

Another factor that shaped translation practices were the methods of translation which missionaries used one of which was Augustus Selwyn's *A verbal analysis* (1855).⁴⁷ Selwyn's universal method for translation contended that all languages had a common origin, a belief that came from the Book of Genesis, chapter one. As Selwyn observed: 'beneath that rude exterior he [the missionary] will find thoughts and feelings answering his own.'⁴⁸ The prevailing belief was, therefore, that texts could be transposed from one language to another and still communicate ideas shared by all people, regardless of linguistic or cultural background.

Of course, Anglicans did not have many original isiXhosa hymns of their own and this would have been one reason why they resorted to translation: most of the texts in *Incwadi Yamaculo* were translations of hymns from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. These were, nonetheless, theological and doctrinal factors underpinning the thirty three hymns in *Incwadi yamaculo* which were. Some had gone through translations over several centuries.⁴⁹ For example, 'Yizani makolwa' (Appendix H, p. 277, hymn 48/XLVIII) was a translation of 'O come all ye faithful'. The English hymn on which it was based was a translation by Frederick Oakeley (1802-80), a priest and translator, of a Latin hymn of unknown authorship (although often attributed to Bonaventure, a 13th century Italian saint), so by the time it got into isiXhosa it had already been through at least three changes to its language.⁵⁰ The theological and doctrinal frameworks which supported and encouraged translation and can be seen expressed in other hymns texts. The vision presented in Revelation is evident in mission hymns such as 'Ngobabina bonke aba'/'Who are these like stars appearing' in which the image of many voices uniting in one language is poetically represented:⁵¹

isiXhosa (Incwadi Yamaculo)

English (Hymns Ancient and Modern)

Ngobabina bonke aba
Bemi pambi kwo-Tixo?
Benxilibe izitsaba,

Who are these like stars appearing,
These, before GOD's throne who stand?
Each a golden crown is wearing,

⁴⁷ Augustus Selwyn, *A verbal analysis of the holy Bible; intended to facilitate the translation of the holy Scriptures [etc]* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1855). Henry Waters, who worked on the mission committee on translation, recorded in a letter that he used Selwyn's method. See USPG, D.24C (1860-1867), [n.f.]: Henry Waters, 'Letter', 16 October 1861.

⁴⁸ Selwyn, *Verbal analysis*, vi.

⁴⁹ See Appendix I.

⁵⁰ A visitor to Herschel mission noted that he heard children singing 'a Kaffir translation of the hymn, 'O come all ye faithful,' which they sang to the tune in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.' See Mr Cox, 'Christmas at Herschel', *The Mission Field*, 1 March 1880, p. 76.

⁵¹ 37 in *Incwadi Yamaculo*; 255 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Bengumkosi omkulu?
Aliluya! kanive,
Bayabonga u-Tixo.

Who are all this glorious band?
Alleluia! Hark, they sing,
Praising loud their heavenly King.

There was, however, a paradox at the heart of the missionary understanding of translation. Putting a text into a new language added to the number of languages directing their praise towards God. The way around this, was to emphasise the eternal essence of the beliefs that were being expressed. These did not change with translation which was merely a means of bringing a disparate humanity into the Christian fold. For missionaries, translation, or adaptation into different languages, was symbolic of unity, and deeply embedded in their belief frameworks. Furthermore, missionaries regarded their translated texts as their greatest agents: as beliefs could be transplanted into many different languages the translated text became a sign of the spiritual changes that were taking place in the language spoken by their converts. This view was held not only by British missionaries, but by indigenous converts who were active missionaries. Jonas Ntsiko, for instance, commented that the translated Prayer Book was an ‘unpaid missionary’ and he reported how people were becoming attached to it.⁵²

While the theory to missionaries was clear, its application in practice was not such a straightforward matter particularly when it came to adapting hymnody for local needs. Translating and adapting texts was shaped by the immediate environment and nature of the vernacular. This was not highly unusual and was a general feature of translation processes from English into indigenous languages in other parts of the world.⁵³ In the case of isiXhosa several challenges were posed, and even the task of finding a way to put the sound of the language and its meanings onto paper was an exercise fraught with difficulty.⁵⁴ Moreover, isiXhosa’s idioms were highly variable according to locality, and there were multiple dialects, almost one per locale. This was not only a problem for missionaries in the Cape Colony. Paul Landau has noted how missionaries in the Pacific were faced were ‘hundreds of languages each with tiny numbers of speakers’ and that grammar was shared but lexicon varied. Landau argues further that the colonial act of privileging one dialect over another led

⁵² USPG, E.28 (1873), f. 699: Jonas Ntsiko ‘Report’, 30 October 1873.

⁵³ For an example from Australia see Hilary M. Carey, ‘Lancelot Threlkeld, Biraban, and the colonial Bible in Australia’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52 (2010), 447-78 (p. 471).

⁵⁴ Kerr, *Amassing treasure*, p. 12.

to the marginalizing of some speakers at the expense of others. Traditional societies, following the introduction of Christianity, were divided into converts and non-converts. Missionary selection of particular dialects added a further level of complexity to this broad division.⁵⁵

While in isiXhosa there was a common syntax and grammar, lexicon and idiomatic expressions varied. This meant there would be different meanings between speakers at different stations, and even between outstations within a specific mission district. Missionaries were aware of these challenges, the defects in their translations, and the unsuitability of their hymns. ‘The hymns now in use,’ wrote Henry Waters in June 1869, ‘are the compositions of Europeans, and are very stilty, & inexpressive.’⁵⁶ Waters was alluding here to the mismatch of Xhosa language metres and English tune. This is perhaps a further reason why early missionaries such as Greenstock resorted to the hymnody his congregations had been taught by missionaries of other denominations.

Meaning, association and intertextuality

As Appendix I (p. 279) shows hymn texts had many interpretative meanings and associations. This process began with translation which involved aiming to extend the cultural and religious intellectual space of converts. One way, for instance, in which this space was expanded was that hymns fostered a greater sense of community that stretched across a vast space. One aspect of a hymn’s epistemology was knowing that versions of it were being sung elsewhere in different languages. This sense of a worldwide mission community was evident in the choice of texts translated. For instance, the hymn ‘Sitand’ indhlu yako’ was a translation of a hymn text by a Canadian missionary, W.H. Bullock and so had a direct connection to a mission field in another part of the world. This hymn was sung on occasions when ‘The House of the Lord’ was commemorated, such as openings of chapels or dedication services. As such it was associated with the establishment of physical buildings which created a presence in the mission field.

Participation in these strands of meaning depended, of course, on an individual’s depth of knowledge and exposure to texts outside the hymnbook. Put another way, the level of response to a hymn text would have depended on how intellectually enculturated a singer

⁵⁵ Paul Landau, ‘Language’, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 194-215 (p. 199).

⁵⁶ USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1225: Henry Waters ‘Report’, 30 September 1869.

had become. This would have varied from one singer to another, because on an individual level singers would have been informed by their own personal experiences and the breadth of their knowledge. But it must be remembered that the hymnbook was a communal resource, and so it was a means of identification for the group of Anglican missions. Among the members of the missionary community there were different levels of enculturation and engagement with the various webs of meaning that were created by the texts of hymns. Some of these webs of meaning would have been understood on an individual level, while others would have been shared by an entire group.

Intertextuality, that is the relationships of meaning between and across different texts, both written and spoken, was a prominent feature of the ways that meanings were generated in hymns and therefore important for entrenching missionary teachings. Hymns in *Incwadi Yamaculo* were connected with two other large texts, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and the Bible. Someone who had a copy of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* would have been able to see additional information such as the section where the hymn was placed in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (this was not always the same), and the thematic subtitle which came with each hymn. Take for example the hymn ‘*Tixo ungumcedi wetu*’. Users would have been directed to hymn 197 where they would have found the original English ‘O God our help in ages past’, a paraphrase of Psalm 90 by Isaac Watts (1674-1748). They would also have found the tune to use – ST ANN – as well as a subtitle, ‘Lord, Thou hast been our Refuge from one generation to another’, which was the first line of Psalm 90.

Reference to the parts or passages of the Bible was made in many hymns, and can be seen in a number of the translated hymns listed in Appendix I (p. 279). For instance, ‘Ap’ ilanga lihambayo’ was a translation of a paraphrase version of the Psalm 72 by Isaac Watts (1674-1748). The opening lines of this hymn ‘*Ap’ilanga lihambayo*’ (literally ‘wherever the sun goes’) reiterated the line in the psalm ‘his Name shall remain under the sun’ (verse 17). Another example can be found in ‘*Ndikude ku-Bawo*’ (literally, ‘I am far from you, Father’ but a translation of the hymn ‘Far from my heavenly home’) made direct reference to the themes of alienation from God and deliverance that were expressed in Psalms 42 and 137. This intertextuality would have served the function of subtly reiterating ideas encountered elsewhere (the Psalms had been translated into isiXhosa by 1865, so there was a degree of access to this body of texts determined by an ability to read a printed text or the ability to retain a text in the memory). Hymns that were based on psalms also had associations with the seasons or times of the day. For instance, ‘*Nkos’ ukuhlwa fufikile*’ referred to Psalm 4, a

psalm associated with the evening. As this hymn was placed in the section '*Amaculo Angokuhlwa*' ('Hymns for the Evening'), its meaning would have been further enhanced by the knowledge of Psalm 4 with its line, 'I will lay me down in peace', a phrase associated with evening, or night-time prayer. These associations, therefore, were not only creating a temporal pattern, but also facilitating particular modes of thinking. Put another way, to sing the hymn 'Nkos' ukuhlwa fufikile' not only made the singer think of the evening, but also, if they had acquired some knowledge of the psalms, it would have provided a way to think about the evening and night time in terms of a devotional framework that was specifically Christian.

As well as referring to the Psalms, hymns made references to other parts of the Bible. For example, the hymn '*U-Tixo uyasebenza*', based on a hymn by William Cowper (1731-1800), resonated with two particular passages in the Bible that refer to the mystery of God: John 13 and Genesis 40:8.⁵⁷ Other hymns were paraphrases which presented Biblical narratives in a poetic style. Such an example is 'Kwaye kuko abalusi', which related the Christmas story of the Shepherds who visited the manger. Many of the central Biblical narratives of Christ's life such as the Nativity, the Passion, and the Crucifixion were related through hymns. The intertextuality of hymn texts, therefore, provided missionaries with a different medium through which to present such material to their converts.

As I have shown in this section, the texts of hymns served several functions. The musical vocabulary used in them incorporated traditional terms to reframe the purpose of singing such praise songs. The interpretation of this by indigenous congregants, and the extent to which missionary theologies became scrambled is difficult to determine, but viewed corporately, the texts which missionaries and their congregations sang gave expression to what they believed. As John de Gruchy has argued, if we are to reach an understanding of what motivated them, then we must have some understanding of what they believed.⁵⁸ As this section has shown, translation was one thing, but as hymns relied so heavily on intertextuality for their meaning, missionaries needed to ensure that the wider intellectual framework in which they operated was also taught. The next section will build on what has

⁵⁷ See Appendix G, p. 273.

⁵⁸ John W. de Gruchy, "'Who Did They Think They Were?'" Some reflections from a Theologian on Grand Narratives and Identity in the History of Missions', *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 213-224 (p. 214-5).

been said by looking at the music to which these texts were sung, and how these also represented webs of meaning that enhanced not only what a text meant, but also what it represented.

Tunes

The text was only one way in which a hymn from *Incwadi Yamaculo* generated meaning. Tunes enhanced the meaning of a hymn through the interaction between musical sounds and words. On a most basic level, tunes were not only a way to attract people into congregations, but they were also an aide memoire: it helped to make a text more memorable for the singers, and in this way it crystallised the message of a hymn's text.⁵⁹ Tunes were also the most immediate way in which a hymn's text was realised in performance. These were, however, all very practical functions of hymn tunes. In this section, I consider the semantic significance of hymn tunes by identifying and discussing at least three possible ways in which tunes added not only a further aesthetic layer to a hymn, but also signified meaning. As we have seen, texts generated meanings and associations through intertextuality, and here I want to see if the same can be said of tunes.

Hymn tune names

The first way in which a hymn tune generated meaning was through its name. In hymnody, each tune is identifiable by the combination of its melodic, harmonic, tonal, and metrical properties. All of these elements are drawn together in the tune name, the customary way to identify and distinguish tunes. This has been a practice unique to British hymnody since the late seventeenth century.⁶⁰ Originally, hymn tunes were often named after their composer, for example TALLIS, but from the sixteenth century onwards the convention developed of naming a tune after its place of origin, or the place where it was first sung. During the eighteenth century, tunes came to be named after churches, or places of worship,

⁵⁹ In his 'The development of hymnody in Zambia', University of Edinburgh, Ph.D, 1995, Bwalya Chuba argues for the importance of melody by showing how in the early stages of nineteenth century Zambian missions words were not understood, but the melody was the chief source of attraction to indigenous congregants.

⁶⁰ For a general overview of the practice of hymn tune naming see (1) Nicholas Temperley, *The hymn tune index: a census of English-language hymn tunes in printed sources from 1535 to 1820*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), I, pp. 57-8; and (2) Nicholas Temperley, 'Tune names', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby, <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/t/tune-names>> [accessed 11 September 2019].

and in the mid-nineteenth century this convention was expanded to include using saints' names. A hymn tune name, then, was not only a means to identify all of the musical characteristics of a tune: it was also were a kind of biography which indicated the history and origins of the music.⁶¹

Naming a hymn was also a way of standardising practice: once a tune was named it could be easily identified and used by anyone who knew what the name referred to. Hymn tune names therefore give some idea of what might have been thought about when they were referred to, but this would have required a specific kind of knowledge: the tune names were not provided in *Incwadi Yamaculo* so only those who used *Hymns Ancient and Modern* would have seen the tune name. Nonetheless, they were a further vehicle by which missionaries could introduce new knowledge, and a further means by which indigenous Christians could create new kinds of knowledge.

The names of the tunes in *Incwadi Yamaculo* demonstrate the sorts of new knowledge that were being introduced. As some of the tunes were named after localities in Britain or Europe, for example, VIENNA, BEDFORD, DUNDEE, and LONDON NEW, they made connections between places.⁶² Others were named after composers, such as TROYTE NO. 1 named after A.H.D Troyte (1811-57). There were also tune names that introduced new languages. ADESTE FIDELIS, for example, which took its name from the first line of the original Latin version of the Christmas hymn 'O come all ye faithful', and QUAM DILECTA named after the Latin first line of Psalm 84, on which the hymn text sung to this tune was based.

Tunes, therefore, had an intertextuality of their own. As the tune names suggested for the hymns in *Incwadi Yamaculo* referred to ideas from Britain or Europe, they would have introduced a new vocabulary into the intellectual frameworks of the converts on the Anglican-Xhosa missions. Missionaries and the congregations who had been enculturated into these practices would have been familiar with the practice of naming hymn tunes. Anglican missionaries referred to specific tunes by name, not only in hymnbooks such as *Incwadi Yamaculo*, but also in their reports. Furthermore, tunes added to the complex

⁶¹ Katharine Smith Diehl, *Hymns and tunes – an index* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1966), xl.

⁶² Roger Scruton, in a discussion about English hymnody, has noted the important connection a hymn tune makes between a religious sensibility and place. Scruton notes that hymnals display a connection between 'English religion and the sense of England as a dwelling place.' A proposal of his which I draw on here is that a strong connection exists between sound and place, in other words that a tune evokes the place where it as composed because of its sonic properties. Roger Scruton, *England: an elegy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), p. 108.

language of mission hymnody as they brought new names, concepts, and cultural associations into the frameworks of indigenous congregants. Conversion to Christianity, therefore, involved enculturation into the layers of meaning attached to the names of tunes.

Saints names

A prominent devotional characteristic of the tune names in *Incwadi Yamaculo* is the number of tunes named after saints. In Britain, saints were more often than not encountered visually as they were often depicted in the windows of churches, but most mission stations did not have stained glass windows, so knowledge of the saints had to be imparted in other ways. I would argue that one of these was through the vocabulary of tunes. As Table 6.3 shows, seventeen of the thirty-three tunes had saints' names.

Table 6.3 Tunes in <i>Incwadi Yamaculo</i> named after saints	
First Line	Tune name
'Ap'ilanga lihambayo'	ST AIDAN
'Bongani iNkosi u-Tixo'	ST AIDAN
'Hambani Ba-Kristu'	ST ALBAN
'Kaloku sindulule Nkosi'	ST PETER
'Kristu umkululi wetu'	ST AIDAN
'Ngcwele Ngcwele Ngcwele'	ST AIDAN
'Ngalemini yako Nkosi'	ST PHILIP
'Ngobabina bonke aba'	ALL SAINTS
'Njengokuba sekuhlwile'	ST PETER
'Nkosi Bawo sikangele'	ST MARY
'Singaboni, sinetyala'	ST MARY
'Tixo Nkosi yezihlwile'	ST STEPHEN
'Tixo ongunapakade'	ST PETER
'Tixo ungumncedi wetu'	ST ANN
'Umkululi esahleli'	ST CUTHBERT
'Yesu izibele zako'	ST FULBERT
'Yiba netaru NKOSI'	ST BRIDE

It is difficult to build an accurate picture of what the saints meant to the average congregant, but they certainly formed part of the consciousness of missionaries. Henry Waters commented in 1869, 'It is hoped that from among the numerous native teachers some poet may come out, & clothe the holy thoughts of the saints of old, in the simple but affirmative language of the Amaxosa.'⁶³ The following comment by Nathaniel Mhala, an

⁶³ USPG, E.24 (1869), f. 1225: Henry Waters, 'Report', 30 June 1869.

indigenous convert, shows that many converts began to incorporate the saints into their thinking. Writing to the bishop of Capetown, he expressed dissatisfaction that his mission station was named after a river; he would rather it be named after an African saint, and he suggested St Cyprian.⁶⁴ Anglican mission stations tended to be named after saints, which meant that saints entered local parlance through their quotidian usage.

Looking beyond the mission station, it is evident that the saints were a significant part of the devotional frameworks of nineteenth-century Anglicans. Enthusiasm for saints, particularly the missionary saints of the ‘ancient’ church was a multifaceted phenomenon and it was natural that they should be transposed into new contexts such as the mission field.⁶⁵ The importance of the saints to Anglican thought was also evident in missionary work, but it is difficult to gauge how this fitted into the frameworks of indigenous Christians, let alone how much missionaries understood about indigenous religious frameworks regarding ancestral veneration. In some ways the saints – the past heroes of the church – resonated with the indigenous religious observance of the ancestors. This is not to say that these nuances of meaning would have been transferred: there were cases elsewhere in the world where missionary attempts to reform meanings resulted in confusing meaning.⁶⁶ The isiXhosa word used for saint was derived from *ngcwele*, an adjective which meant pure, undefiled, and holy – qualities of behaviour missionaries encouraged their congregations to emulate.

For nineteenth-century Anglican missionaries the saints were an important source of inspiration. One missionary in India noted in a discourse on St Stephen, the church’s first martyr, that the ‘blood of martyrs is the seed of the church.’⁶⁷ Missionaries took inspiration from the saints and the martyrs and saw themselves as descended from a long lineage

⁶⁴ CCA-U88/A5/4: Letter, Nathaniel Mhala to bishop of Capetown, 14 October 1869.

⁶⁵ Gareth Atkins has noted that ‘saints [...] were pivotal in religious discourse throughout the nineteenth century, and remained so well beyond it.’ See his ‘Introduction’ in *Making and remaking saints in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. by Gareth Atkins, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 1-22 (p. 3; see also p. 17).

⁶⁶ One example is discussed by Paul Landau, who looked at the contexts of the interactions through which translations took place in the case of the L.M.S. missions among the Tswana-speaking peoples of Southern Africa. He points out that the word missionaries adopted to signify ‘God’ originally meant ‘ancestor’ to signify God but that the appropriation of this word was by no means a straightforward process. The Tswana believed that the ancestors were below, whereas Christian belief holds that God is above. This demonstrates that while English words and concepts may have had an indigenous analogue, the nuances in meaning were by no means the same. See Landau, ‘Language’ pp. 206-8.

⁶⁷ ‘The Native Indian Mind in its relation to Christianity’, *The Mission Field*, 1 July 1867, p. 272.

stretching back to the early church.⁶⁸ Consequently, it was important to emphasise and reinforce these links. Saints' names were not only used for hymn tunes: they were in evidence in other ways. In contrast to non-conformist mission stations which were named after biblical places or existing names, Anglican missionaries drew on the saints' names. Each name had significance and symbolism for mission. The first Anglican-Xhosa stations were named after the four gospel evangelists who were attributed with spreading the Gospel immediately after Christ's death. Other names included the names of the Apostles (the first Christian missionaries) – Andrew, Philip – or Mary, the mother of Jesus. This distinguished them from the non-conformist or dissenting mission stations which were named after places in the Old Testament ('Shiloh', 'Bethelsdorp'), or prominent figures in those missions ('Wesleyville'), or which provided descriptions of the location ('Genadendal', 'Lovedale').⁶⁹ Mission heroes were also used to name stations, Alban and Cuthbert, for example. There were also martyrs – saints who suffered death rather than renounce their faith – such as Paul, Edmund and James. The names given to mission stations illustrates the ways in which saints were invoked to explain precepts such as apostleship and martyrdom which were important for missionary teachings, but also to distinguish by name the Anglican from the dissenting/non-conformist missions.

While there is nothing intrinsic in the music of the tunes themselves to suggest or signify saintliness, the names did so overtly, and had associations with missionary work. For example, three tunes bore the names of saints associated directly with Jesus Christ. The first of these was the hymn tune ST PETER. Alban Butler, who wrote the influential account of the saints *The lives of the fathers and martyrs* (known generally as 'Butler's "Lives of the saints"'), an important contemporary commentator on the saints, described Peter as the 'Prince of the Apostles' who 'planted the faith in many countries'.⁷⁰ Indeed, the station where *Incwadi Yamaculo* was printed was named after St Peter. There were similar associations

⁶⁸ An example of this way of thinking in contemporary literature can be found in William Pakenham Walsh, *Heroes of the mission field* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1879), pp. v-vi: the saints 'show that in all ages there have been some efforts made for the extension of the gospel [...] contributing, even in the darkest days, to the welfare of the world and the salvation of men.'

⁶⁹ These are all names of non-conformist/dissenting missions stations founded at the Cape during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁷⁰ Alban Butler, *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal saints*, 2 vols (London: Henry & co., [1857-60]), I, p. 866.

with the tune ST PHILIP named after Philip the Apostle, one of the first disciples.⁷¹ A theme which resonated with the ambitions of mission work was Philip's obedience to Christ's call.⁷² His response to the call 'Follow me' was the response for which missionaries hoped from the indigenous populations amongst whom they worked. As this illustrates, a tune named after a saint resonated with other areas of missionary teaching and was one way of contributing to the webs of cultural and religious meaning which missionaries sought to introduce, amplifying the theology that missionaries wished to teach.

Hymn tunes giving a new identity

A further way in which tunes were used by missionaries was as a means for identification.⁷³ In *Incwadi Yamaculo* this can be seen through an examination of the tunes assigned to some of its hymns. Table 6.4 shows fourteen hymns which appeared in *Incwadi Yamaculo* without an attribution to an author or translator. The authors of these hymns can be identified by looking at the indexes of other hymnbooks. A cross-check with the first Anglican hymnbook in isiXhosa with a complete index, *Iculo lase-tshetshi, Church hymn in the Xosa language, with tunes* (1917) and a Wesleyan hymnbook, *Incwadi Yamaculo, okuvunywa ezikolweni zaba-Kristu ezisemaxoseni nezisembo* (1869) reveals that three Wesleyan missionaries, H.H. Dugmore, R. Haddy and 'G.S.' authored these fourteen hymns between them.⁷⁴ As we saw in the previous chapter, it was not unusual for the Anglicans to use hymns from other denominations because many of their congregants who had been exposed to other forms of Christian denominational worship would have been familiar with these texts and tunes.

⁷¹ According to James Lightwood, ST PHILIP was written by W.H. Monk (1823-89) for *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861): James T. Lightwood, *The music of the Methodist hymn-book; being the story of each tune with biographical notices of the composers* (London: Epworth Press, 1935), p. 406). Philip the Apostle's selection is mentioned in the three Gospels: Matthew 10:2, Mark 3:14, and Luke 6:13.

⁷² John 1:43.

⁷³ In his "'Meet and Right it is to Sing": Nineteenth-Century Hymnals and the Reasons for Singing', in *Music and theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. by Martin V. Clarke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 21-36 (pp. 21 & 32), Martin V. Clarke has argued and shown that in Britain hymn tunes were an important means of identification for denominations.


⁷⁴ *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1875), the other Anglican-Xhosa hymnbook, has an index with author name, but only names Anglican authors.

Table 6.4 The Wesleyan hymns used in *Incwadi yamaculo*

First line	Section/Season in Incwadi yamaculo	Tune in Incwadi yamaculo	Section in Wesleyan Hymnal	Literal translation
‘Abangcwele banoyolo’	Ngemihla Yabangcwele	ROCKINGHAM	Amaculo angokufa nangomhla wokugweba	Hymns of death and the day of judgment
‘Izono zam zininzi’	Amaculo Okutandaza	REDHEAD NO. 47	Amaculo afanele amagqoboka	Hymns to suit to the converted
‘Kristu umkululi wethu’	Amaculo Okubonga	ST AIDAN	Amaculo angaye u-Kristu nomsebenzi wake	Hymns {...} Christ and his work[ers]
‘Nkosi Bawo sikangele’	Elokucela Imvula	ST MARY	Amaculo alungele amaxesha atile: Awemvula	Hymns appropriate/fitting for certain times: rain.
‘Nkosi ndiyakudumisa’	Amaculo Okubonga	STUTGARD	Amaculo okutandaza	Hymns of prayer
‘Nkosi sihlange’	Amaculo Okutandaza	SM	Amaculo okutandaza	Hymns of prayer
‘Pezulu enkosini’	Amaculo Okubonga	INNOCENTS	Amaculo axela okwezulu nokwabaya kona	Hymns to ask for the kingdom to be here
‘Singaboni sinetyala’	Amaculo Okutandaza	ST MARY	Amaculo afanele amakolwa	Hymns to suit believers
‘Ukukonza eNkosini’	Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo	no tune	Amaculo axela okwezulu nokwabaya kona	Hymns to ask for the kingdom to be here
‘Uyindhlela yenyano’	Amaculo Okubonga	no tune		
‘Wasizek' isonka YESU’	Umtendeleko Ongcwele	DUNDEE	Amaculo alungele amaxesha atile: Isakramente yomtendeleko wenkosi	Hymns appropriate/fitting for certain times: the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
‘Yanga inkliziyo yam’	Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo	DIX	Amaculo afanele amakolwa	Hymns to suit believers
‘Yesu! wena uyindhlela’	Amaculo Okubonga	ANGELS	Amaculo angaye u-Kristu nomsebenzi wake	Hymns {...} Christ and his work[ers]
‘Yinto eyoyikekayo’	Ngomhla Womgweba	DUNDEE	Amaculo angokufa nangomhla wokugweba	Hymns of death and the day of judgment

The editors of *Incwadi Yamaculo* appear to have made efforts to give these hymns their own denominational identity, and this can be seen through the tune assigned to these texts. Some of these tunes would have already been established for use with certain texts. For instance, we saw in Chapter 5 that ‘*Pezulu enkosini*’, a Wesleyan hymn, was being sung to INNOCENTS, an Anglican tune in 1867. The 1869 Wesleyan hymnbook did not give any tune recommendations, only a metre to suggest an appropriate tune, so we do not know what tunes these hymns were originally sung to. Regardless, in *Incwadi Yamaculo* each of these texts were assigned tunes from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. For example, in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* the eighteenth-century tune ROCKINGHAM by Edward Miller (1735-1807) was closely associated with the text ‘When I survey the wondrous cross’, and this tune was kept with the isiXhosa translation ‘Ndakuqala ekuruse’. The tune was also assigned to ‘Abangcwele banoyolo’, a hymn which originated from the Wesleyan Xhosa missions. REDHEAD NO. 47 by Richard Redhead, an Anglo-Catholic and Tractarian, was suggested for the hymn ‘Izono zam zininzi’ written by the Methodist missionary, R. Haddy, which led to pairing music and text each having distinct denominational origins. In this case text and tune resonated rhetorically with each other, as the example below shows:

Example 6.1 ‘Izono zam zininzi’: text, music and translation


<p>Literal translation: My sins are many They fall in strength, My guilt/debt/fault/offence is great, They pierce (but also alarm) into my heart.</p>

While in some cases tune and texts complemented one another, assigning new, specifically Anglican tunes to the texts of isiXhosa hymns from another denomination was, I would argue, a means of transformation. There is evidence that rivalries existed between the

proprietors of denominational hymnbooks in Britain.⁷⁵ The treatment of Wesleyan hymns in *Incwadi Yamaculo* would seem to suggest that similar sonic rivalries were playing out the mission field. But these rivalries did not necessarily amount to an outright rejection of non-conformist hymns: a notable feature of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was its non-Anglican content, which included hymns by non-conformist composers such as Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley. *Incwadi Yamaculo* followed suit as it included three translations of hymns by Watts (all of these were taken from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*). *Incwadi Yamaculo* also included mission hymns from local denominations. It is noteworthy that the tunes set to non-Anglican hymn texts from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* were retained in *Incwadi Yamaculo*, while local, non-Anglican hymn texts were given a tune from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and therefore a new Anglican sonic identity through their tune. This was one way for Anglican-Xhosa missionaries to ensure an Anglican way for how these hymns would be sung and heard.

Continuity and unity

As well as giving a new identity to a text, tunes were a means of providing continuity. The thirty three hymn texts that were direct translations of hymns from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* all kept the original's tune. In most cases, this was to follow conventions that were often long-established. For example, 'Nonke enikulomhlaba' was a translation of the hymn 'All people that on earth do dwell' by Thomas Ken (1637-1711). The English text had been sung to the tune OLD HUNDREDTH since the eighteenth century: as J.R. Watson has shown the text and tune were inseparable.⁷⁶ Such direct transferrals would have achieved uniformity and common practice across the space of the mission field linking it musically with the wider church where the same tunes and texts were being used.

It is also important to reiterate that the tune was one way of signifying and identifying a text, so that at bilingual services congregations singing a hymn in two languages could ostensibly sing the same thing. A further permutation is that when a hymn had not yet been translated, congregants could join in singing the tune (presumably by humming or vocalising the music somehow). A series of reports by Fred Patten, missionary at St John's Bolotwa,

⁷⁵ Dibble, 'Musical Trends', p. 134.

⁷⁶ J.R. Watson, *An annotated anthology of hymns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 115.

show that hymns were sung bilingually with the tune providing the means to achieve this mode of performance.⁷⁷ Patten noted of the singing of the hymn ‘A few more years shall roll’ (tune: CHALVEY) that, ‘though many could not join in the words nearly every one did in the singing’. Patten’s reports also show that missionaries continued to prepare and print their own translations after the publication of *Incwadi Yamaculo* and that the active repertoire of the Anglican-Xhosa missions extended beyond *Incwadi Yamaculo*. For instance, the hymn ‘Days and moments quickly flying’, sung in English and isiXhosa, was not in the book.

In addition to these practicalities, bilingual singing made a symbolic point. Unity was heightened in these bilingual moments: while the text might not have been discernible to a listener, the tune carried the text’s message, and, uniting the languages, was used as a means to illustrate a point that missionaries wished to make. Patten also noted: ‘It was a very appealing service sung as it was by people of different nations each in their own language. There was civilised European together with Africa’s sons and daughters all joining in that one song of praise.’ The point would seem quite clear: that symbolic meaning, in this case unity, was more highly prized than semantic or lexical accuracy.

The tunes provided in *Incwadi Yamaculo* can only be taken as suggestions, however, and we cannot presume that these were the tunes that were always used. Tunes were no doubt changed, substituted, or determined by familiarity with a particular melody, something that would have varied from one congregation to another. It was also common practice to substitute tunes. As noted in the ‘Preface’ of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, tunes might need to be changed in order to suit the abilities of different congregations, but they should be interchanged so that the character of the music corresponded to that of the text.⁷⁸

Not every hymn text in *Incwadi Yamaculo* had a tune indicated so we have to presume that missionaries did not always keep to particular tunes. Two hymns had ‘LM’ and ‘SM’ assigned to them, which would have indicated that any hymn tune in Long Metre or Short Metre could be used for these texts.⁷⁹ As most of the tunes came from *Hymns Ancient*

⁷⁷ USPG, E.29 (1874), f. 1705: Fred Patten, ‘Report’, 31 March 1874; USPG E.29 (1874), f. 1715: Fred Patten, ‘Report’, 4 April 1874.

⁷⁸ Preface, vi. See also, Ian Bradley, ‘The Theology of the Victorian Hymn Tune’, in *Music and theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. by Martin V. Clarke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 5-20 (p. 7).

⁷⁹ ‘LM’, which stands for ‘Long Measure’, means 8.8.8.8 i.e. four lines of eight syllables each in iambic rhythm. A tune in ‘L.M.’ would have phrases of eight notes and usually begin on an anacrusis. A hymn in ‘S.M.’ (‘Short Measure’, 6.6.8.6), would have four lines of iambic text. A hymn tune in this metre would have the same number of notes per phrase, and

and *Modern*, it was likely that the short metre tunes provided in that book were used. Certain tunes would have been known to missionaries because of the associations they already shared with a text in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, as appears to have been the case with the 33 translated texts. The tunes with which the original texts in English had been placed in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* were kept for all but one of these. The only hymn which appeared with a different tune was ‘Ngcwele, Ngcwele, Ngcwele’. In *Hymns Ancient and Modern* it was put with the tune NICAIA, but in *Incwadi Yamaculo* the suggested tune was ST AIDAN, which also come from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.⁸⁰ As Example 6.2 shows, the result would have been awkward. The isiXhosa translation preserved the 11.12.12.10 metre of the original English text, but ST AIDAN was a ‘Long Measure’ tune. Working out how the tune and words fitted together is difficult: by the middle of the fourth phrase of music the text was complete.

Example 6.2 ‘Ngcwele, Ngcwele, Ngcwele!’: isiXhosa text and tune (1st two lines)

Ngcwe - le, N-gcwe - le, Ngcwe_ le! Ti - xo 'na-ma - ndhl 'o - nke

Kwa - ku-sa-sa si - ya - ku-cu - le - la ku-we.

If this tune was always used, some sort of adaptation such as repeating lines or adding in notes must have been made, or missionaries soon realised it was awkward and abandoned the tune for this text altogether.⁸¹ A possible explanation is that the tune was well-known or had been quickly learned by congregations. It is fairly rhythmical and lively, and it will be recalled that William Greenstock noted that congregations enjoyed lively tunes.

In this section, we have seen how tunes were important for three reasons. First, they introduced vocabulary and epistemologies of geography, history, and religion through the

usually begin on an anacrusis. In *Hymns Ancient and Modern* there were forty-nine ‘Long Measure’ tunes, and ten ‘Short Measure’ tunes.

⁸⁰ NICAIA was written in 1861 for *Hymns Ancient and Modern* by J.B. Dykes (1823-76). The origins of ST AIDAN are less well known, but it was attributed in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* as a tune of German origin, arranged by W.H. Monk.

⁸¹ This is the most likely explanation as NICAIA (the tune used in subsequent isiXhosa hymnals) was better-suited to this text.

ways in which they were given names. In the second place, hymn tunes drew out the meaning and character of text, when sympathetically matched. Finally, tunes were sonic identifiers which helped to distinguish Anglican hymnody from that of other denominations. These were all functions of the musical practices associated with hymns that missionaries wished to introduce. *Incwadi Yamaculo* was a local creation, but was nonetheless predominantly the work of British missionaries and so reflected their frameworks for musical practice. Ultimately, it was up to local Christian converts to find ways to engage with the material.

Jonas Ntsiko: indigenous Christians and hymn writing

Having shown in the previous section some of the practices associated with hymnody which British missionaries transferred into *Incwadi Yamaculo*, I look in this section at the extent to which the book reflected the local context, beyond its use of isiXhosa. As we have seen so far, direct translations posed a variety of problems, and, even if the original tune were used, could not have, in practice, resulted in much successful continuity. There were many mismatches of tunes and texts, and missionaries struggled to create workable isiXhosa versions of the English hymns that they knew. Some of these shortcomings can be explained by the breakdown of contributors, shown in Table 6.5, which reveals that only one, Jonas Ntsiko, was a mother-tongue isiXhosa speaker.⁸²

Table 6.5 Contributors to <i>Incwadi yamaculo</i> (1873)				
Name of contributor	Originals	Translations	Unsure	TOTAL CONTRIBUTION
Anon	-	-	13	13
A.J. Newton	3	20	5	28
H.H. Dugmore	4	-	-	4
W. Philip	-	1	-	1
R. Haddy	1	-	-	1
G.S. (?)	2	-	-	2
B.L. Key	-	1	-	1
C.F. Patten	-	3	-	3
D.W. Dodd	-	1	-	1
H.R. Woodrooffe	-	1	-	1

⁸² In the book itself, there are no author attributions: I identified authors by comparing the texts with those found in later editions of the hymnbook, or isiXhosa hymnbooks from other denominations where author attributions were provided. This identified authors for all but 13 of the hymns.

J. Ntsiko	-	3	-	3
T. Liefeldt	-	1	-	1
TOTALS	10	31	18	59

There were also very few original hymns: these account for only ten of those found in the book. Thus far my analysis has focussed on the translation work of white British missionaries. In this section I examine the three hymns that were translated by Jonas Ntsiko (?-1915), an indigenous convert and clergyman, by looking closely at the texts he translated and the tunes to which they were sung.⁸³ These texts are exceptional for several reasons. Examples of hymns written by indigenous Christians are hard to find. The early attempts by converts to write hymns (as we saw in Chapter 5) were either not preserved in print or were simply very limited in number. Ntsiko's hymns provide an opportunity to examine how responses were made to the hymn texts and tunes that were introduced by missionaries.

A case study of Ntsiko's translation activity will also demonstrate the characteristics of the active part played by some indigenous converts in musical practice, and his work gives us a sense of how indigenous converts collaborated, supported, and transformed missionary forms of knowledge, and how they saw themselves as converts.⁸⁴ This image was expressed through acts like the translation (and singing) of hymns. Finally, these three texts provide an opportunity to see that missionary culture that was not instantiated by British missionaries alone, and reveal some of the ways in which local involvement impacted on the reception of musical forms.

Jonas Ntsiko's biography reveals that he occupied what has been termed an 'insider-outsider' status: he had a traditional Xhosa upbringing, but was well-versed in the ways of Anglican Christianity. He converted sometime in the 1850s, when he was probably a teenager. In 1870 he entered St Augustine's Missionary College in Canterbury to train as a

⁸³ No definitive biography of Ntsiko exists, although he is recognised as an important literary and political figure in Xhosa society. He is included as a subject in (1) Janheinz Jahn, *et al*, *Who's who in African literature: biographies, works, commentaries* (Tübingen: Horst Erdman Verlag, 1972), p. 385; and (2) Donald E. Hendrick, *et al*, *African authors: a companion to Black African writing (Volume I, 1300-1973)* (Washington D.C.: Black Orpheus Press, 1973).

⁸⁴ See Peggy Brock, 'New Christians as Evangelists', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 132-152 (p. 132).

catechist.⁸⁵ There he would have come into contact with the daily routine of music and liturgy similar to that which Bransby Key was exposed (see Chapter 1). While at St Augustine's he was examined by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose Board of Examiners approved him for mission work.⁸⁶ Upon his return to the Cape he worked first as a catechist until he was made a deacon in 1873 – one of the first Xhosas to be admitted to Holy Orders in the Anglican church – and put in charge of an outstation, St Mary's, at Xilingxa (see map, p. xi).⁸⁷ This brief biography shows that Ntsiko was someone who had direct experience of metropolitan culture, while also knowing well his own society, language and culture.

Ap'ilanga lihambayo

The first of Ntsiko's contributions was 'Ap'ilanga lihambayo', a Xhosa version of Isaac Watts' hymn 'Jesus shall reign where'er the Sun'. The hymn text and tune had a number of interpretive associations. The original English text first appeared in 1719 in a collection entitled *The Psalms of David*, and was a paraphrase of Psalm 72, a text attributed to King Solomon, and given the subtitle 'Christ's Kingdom among the Gentiles' to emphasise its adaptation to Christianity.⁸⁸ In *Incwadi Yamaculo*, the hymn appeared in the section *Amaculo okubonga* ('Hymns of praise') and in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* it appeared amongst the 'General Hymns' with the subtitle 'The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our LORD and of His CHRIST: and He shall reign for ever and ever.'⁸⁹ The subject matter of Watts' text and the *Hymns Ancient and Modern* subtitle both indicate that it would have been appropriate for the mission field, as it evoked the proclamation of the seventh angel in Revelation that all kingdoms will be united in Christian belief. The tune ST AIDAN, presumably given by W.H. Monk (the tune's composer) was full of significance as it

⁸⁵ R.J.E. Boggis, *A history of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury* (Canterbury: Cross and Jackman, 1907), p. 116. Ntsiko was not the first nor the only Black South African to study at St Augustine's. Boggis chronicles ten who studied there between 1861 and 1884: *A history*, pp. 193-5. For more on Black students at St Augustine's see David Killingray, 'Tracing peoples of African origin in Kent', in *Black Victorians, Black Victoriana*, ed. by Gretchen Gerzina (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), pp. 51-70 (p. 59).

⁸⁶ USPG, X119: Board of Examiners Minutes 1865-1873.

⁸⁷ According to the list at <http://www.safrika.org/Names/Herrnhuter> [accessed 10 December 2019] the first African to be ordained in the Moravian church was Johannes Nakin, in 1883. See also Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1955).

⁸⁸ Alan Gaunt, 'Jesus shall reign where'er the sun', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by J.R. Watson and Emma Hornby <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/j/jesus-shall-reign-where'er-the-sun>> [accessed 11 September 2019].

⁸⁹ Taken from Revelation 11:15.

was named after Aidan of Lindisfarne, the 7th century Irish missionary reputed with restoring Christianity to Northumbria. ‘Aidan’ was a suitable name for a tune written for a hymn which spoke of mission and evangelism and resonated with lines such as ‘People and realms of every tongue’ or ‘Let every creature rise and bring’.

Ntsiko’s translation in several ways emulated and copied the original on which it was based. While the 8s/Long Measure metre was retained, so that the tune ST AIDAN (Example 6.3), prescribed for the English version, could be used, the English rhyme scheme of a-a-b-b was not followed. Nonetheless, Ntsiko managed to craft the isiXhosa text so that the emphasised syllables coincided with the strong beats of the tune (indicated by the bold emphasis in Example 6.3). The falling melodic phrases also matched the fallen inflections of the spoken isiXhosa meaning that the meanings determined by inflections were not disrupted.

Example 6.3 Ntsiko’s translation of ‘*Ap’ ilanga lihambayo*’/‘Jesus shall reign where’ er the sun’ with the tune ST AIDAN

Ap' i-lan-ga li - ham - ba-yo Yen' u-Ye-su 'ya - ku - pa-ta,
E - li Tsha-we le - zwe lo-nke. Zid' in-yan-ga zin - ga - bi - ko.

The figurative language used by Ntsiko displayed some innovations. In the selection of certain words to express these concepts, further layers of meaning were added. For example, in verse one, Jesus was referred to as ‘*Tshawe*’, rather than ‘kingdom’ as in the English version.⁹⁰ This word was rooted in secular Xhosa use, and was not one of the traditional Xhosa words used to refer to a deity. This reinforces an argument made by Janet Hodgson that often words and concepts from Xhosa religion were appropriated by

⁹⁰ Albert Kropf, explains the meaning of ‘*Tshawe*’ as one of high birth; a prince; one of the aristocracy. He notes that this was ‘an honourable term used in addressing chiefs.’ See his *A Kaffir-English dictionary* (South Africa: Lovedale Mission Press, 1899), p. 402,

missionaries for Christian use, and here Ntsiko used pre-Christian Xhosa concepts to refer to Jesus Christ.⁹¹

Ngalemini yako Nkosi

The second translation by Ntsiko was ‘Ngalemini yako Nkosi’, based on the English hymn ‘Lord in this thy mercy’s day’.⁹² In *Incwadi Yamaculo* the hymn was included in ‘Amaculo okutandaza’ (‘Hymns of prayer’).⁹³ The isiXhosa version followed an a-b-c rhyme scheme, rather than a-a-a used for the English. Ntsiko’s translation closely followed the original English version. The meter was retained (three lines of seven syllables) so that the same tune, ST PHILIP (see Example 6.4) could be used.⁹⁴ This was a largely syllabic tune, but with two-notes on the antepenultimate syllable of lines one and two (indicated by underlined text). The effect of this was that the words ‘mercy’ and ‘aye’ would have been emphasised in the English version. Ntsiko used the same number of syllables as notes in the tune in the first line so that no word was emphasised by a melisma. In the second line where the number of syllables is fewer than notes in the tune, it is not clear where the melisma would have fallen. If the tune was strictly followed the syllable ‘-li’ would have been emphasised; but moving it one note later would have meant that ‘kanye’ (once/only) would have received the emphasis, and thus also followed the natural penult metre of the Xhosa text.

Example 6.4 Ntsiko’s translation of ‘Ngalemini yako Nkosi’/‘Lord, in this thy mercy’s day’ with the tune ST PHILIP

The musical notation for Example 6.4 shows two staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Nga - le - mi - ni ya - ko Nko - si In - ge - ka - dhlu -' and the second staff contains 'li - Kan - ye, Si - gu - qa si - tan - da - za.' The melody is written in a treble clef. The first staff ends with a double bar line. The second staff begins with a half rest under 'li' and continues with the melody. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllable placement.

⁹¹ See Hodgson, *God of the Xhosa*, pp. 101-3.

⁹² Number 82 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861). Robert Moorsom explains that the English text was by Isaac Williams, a Church of England clergyman, and written in 1842: Moorsom, *Historical Companion*, p. 340.

⁹³ Although in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* it was in the section for Lent. John Julian called it a ‘metrical litany for Lent’: John Julian, ‘Lord, in this Thy mercy’s day’, in *A dictionary of hymnology*, ed. by John Julian (London: James Murray, 1892), p. 690.

⁹⁴ According to James Lightwood ST PHILIP was written by W.H. Monk for *Hymns Ancient and Modern* 1861: Lightwood, *Methodist hymn-book*, p. 406.

Wena NKOSI yezihlwele

In the third of Ntsiko's hymns, a version of 'O Lord God of Hosts, Whose glory fills', but in his translation, Ntsiko used '-hlwele' (meaning a retinue that follows a chief) as a figurative image for glory. Instead of a literal translation which would have used the isiXhosa word 'u-Zuko', Ntsiko portrays the Lord ('Nkosi') as having a great company, retinue, or suite.⁹⁵ In '-hlwele' there are still connotations of power, but Ntsiko's suggest that the power flowed from having a great following.

Structurally, Ntsiko made other changes. The English follows a rhyming scheme of a-a-b-b ('fills', 'hills', 'lands', 'hands') whereas his version in isiXhosa followed a rhyme scheme of a-a-a-a (*yezihlwele*, *zapakade*, *ngobungcwele*, *zonke*). The internal rhyme in the middle of each line (on the fourth syllable of each line, '-si', '-li', '-se', '-le') imitates the English rhyme scheme of a-a-b-b. As with 'Ap'ilanga', Ntsiko manages to get the rising and fallen shape of text and tune to coincide. For example, '*zapakade*' (end of the second line) would be spoken with a rising inflection, which the melody would have imitated.

As with the other two hymns, the tune for the original from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was used. This was called COMMANDMENTS (Example 6.5), a name that was probably given because of the tune's association with the Ten Commandments, or Decalogue.⁹⁶ In the Genevan Psalter, where this tune was first used, it was used for a metrical setting of the Ten Commandments, but also used for a metrical version of Psalm 140: 'Eripe me, Domini' ('Deliver me, O Lord'). The tune itself is sedate and proceeds mainly by step, with any leaps more than a second only coming at the end of phrases or line (the perfect fourth at the end of the second line, and the major sixth from the third into the fourth line).

⁹⁵ In Kropf, *Kaffir-English dictionary*, p. 471, 'u-Zuko' is a noun meaning fame, renown, honour, glory; 'isi-Hlwele' (p. 156) is the retinue or suite of a chief, or a company of soldiers.

⁹⁶ Watson, *An annotated anthology*, p. 114.

Example 6.5 Ntsiko's translation 'Wena NKOSI yezihlwele'/'O Lord Of Hosts' with the tune COMMANDMENTS

We - na Nko - si ye - zi - hlwe - le E - zin - du - li za -
 pa - ka - de U - zam - be - se ngo - bun - gcwe - le,
 Se - zi - ze - le bu - bo bo - nke.

There are two important points that come from this analysis of Ntsiko's translations. First, they provide evidence of intellectual engagement with the hymn genre by indigenous, first-generation converts. Ntsiko's translations were faithful replicas of the original English versions. He retained the metres, so that the same tunes could be used and also strove to emulate in his translations the rhyme schemes, so externally they resembled faithful replicas. But they also display an attempt to present Christian imagery in new ways, namely through analogues from the religious language of his own background. Ntsiko's translations would have been used in performance and every time these hymns were sung, indigenous converts were, in effect, even if unconsciously, engaging with the texts and their imagery and the tunes. In Jonas Ntsiko's translations, then, we see an indigenous voice beginning to emerge using hymnody as a vehicle of expression.

Secondly, the details of metre and correspondence between the inflections of the language and the tune highlighted in the analysis suggest that Ntsiko had a competent grasp of the form and conventions of English hymn writing. He understood and was able to use the metres, rhythms, and rhymes of both the spoken and sung text which suggests that he was well-versed in Christian literary forms. In addition to these technical aspects, he was also able to express theological concepts such as the Christian Godhead. As Zoe Laidlaw has pointed out that a major motivation for indigenous interlocutors was to present themselves as appropriately informed and authoritative. The strategy Laidlaw identifies that enabled them to do this involved a combination of seeking to enter into networks facilitated by missionaries,

and creating their own new networks.⁹⁷ Ntsiko participated in existing intellectual networks of meaning facilitated by hymnody, but was simultaneously producing new meanings of his own to create ways for indigenous converts to engage with Christian concepts of deity. His metropolitan exposure and the understanding he demonstrated of the poetic and figurative aspects of the hymn genre were a means to present himself as an authentic indigenous voice.

Ntsiko was not just translating hymns: he was using this form of expression to articulate his own faith and to highlight its relevance to his fellow Xhosa Christians. He followed the conventions of British hymn writing to display his skills of literacy, as well as his literary and poetical abilities in isiXhosa. As a catechist and ordained minister, he used his knowledge of both British Christianity and indigenous belief systems to articulate something different and new through his choice of language and metaphor, and in this way contributed to the webs of meaning that were found in hymns.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the creation of a printed repertory of hymnody for the Anglican-Xhosa mission field. In it, I have highlighted the many influences and factors that shaped the process of creating the first surviving anthology of Anglican hymns in isiXhosa of 1873 and explored some of the implications of this process. While the Anglicans introduced new material, a lot of what they fashioned drew on the knowledge and frameworks of Christians already on the ground.

Missionaries, by emulating a hymnbook from Britain, sought to claim this repertory as exclusive to the Anglican-Xhosa missions. The attempt to model *Incwadi Yamaculo* as closely as possible on *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is indicative of this. What this chapter has shown is that the book in fact reflects a wide range of influences from both Anglicanism and outside of it. This was inherent in Anglican hymnody itself, the roots of which were eclectic and drew on a wide range of cultural, national, and religious influences. There were hymn tunes and texts from Germany and Portugal, from different branches of Christendom, and, in origin, they spanned several centuries of the hymn writing tradition. While these entities were undergoing transformations, they show us that missionaries were presenting a particular

⁹⁷ Zoe Laidlaw, 'Indigenous Interlocutors: Networks of imperial protest and humanitarianism in the mid-nineteenth century', in *Indigenous networks: mobility, connections and exchange*, ed. by Jane Carey and Jane Lydon (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 114-39 (p. 133).

image of the mission to their metropolitan supporters only because they had support and involvement from local interlocutors and converts.⁹⁸

With time, missionaries came to be aware of these linguistic shortcomings, but for them an important part of this book lay in its value as a tool for marketing themselves. As Norman Etherington has shown, achieving theological accuracy was not always the foremost concern for missionaries: it was more a case of demonstrating, by whatever means available, the progress of their work.⁹⁹ Thus, producing a hymn book was a way of showing that they were embedding missionary practices into local societies. Furthermore, it was also a material way of demonstrating their presence to those in the mission field. For missionaries, figures like Jonas Ntsiko, and their contribution by translating and singing hymns, provided humanitarian evidence of the progress of mission work, and the embedding of British Christian ideas in the intellectual frameworks of the indigenous population.¹⁰⁰

The multiplicity of meanings that was associated with each hymn tune and text was determined by several factors. Some these were the heritage of a particular hymn, its translation history, its previous use, the levels of intertextuality, and a singer's understanding of the text's meanings. Missionaries were prepared to include material from rival denominations, indicating that mission culture and practice was a process of trialling and adopting practices from a variety of sources.¹⁰¹ The array of possible interpretations, meanings and associations, as well as the input of indigenous converts cannot be accounted for by the concept of 'cultural imperialism' because such a view does not neatly define or characterize the lived experience of indigenous Christians when we look at the practices associated with hymnody. The case study of Ntsiko shows us that there was an everyday experience of mission Christianity which involved individuals making decisions that involved drawing on a variety of intellectual sources. One of the ways that this unfolded was through engagement with the text and music of hymns, and in this process new categories and forms of knowledge were generated. This was the process of indigenization: transformation of new

⁹⁸ This point is made by Gareth Griffiths in his "'Trained to tell the truth": missionaries, converts and narration', in *Missions and empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 153-172 (p. 153).

⁹⁹ This is the argument central Etherington's article, 'Outward and visible signs', cited above.

¹⁰⁰ Zoe Laidlaw, 'Indigenous Interlocutors', p. 115.

¹⁰¹ This is another example of how the Anglican Xhosa missions incorporated methods from other denominations. Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa: an account of the history and development of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963), draws attention to the Moravian influences on Anglican missions.

ideas and concepts that were introduced by missionaries. Ntsiko was making careful decisions as how best to adapt this imagery so that it would be understood within the frameworks of Xhosa culture.

The grassroots process of engagement and refashioning presents an entry point for understanding the implications of how British Christianity and culture were experienced, and ultimately reformed. What hymns show us is that this was a dynamic process, involving input from indigenous Christians, whether as hymnwriters and translators, or as singers, or indeed as individual converts who developed a personal experience of Christian hymnody using their own webs of meaning.¹⁰² The grassroots engagement is made further evident in the longevity of the hymn genre's place within the musical practices of Anglican-Xhosa Christians especially as the repertoire continued to grow. In the 1919 Anglican-Xhosa hymnbook there were 468 hymns, of which 338 were translations and 130 were original texts. While the proportion of translations to originals remained much the same as the 1873 hymnbook, there were forty-three contributors to the 1919 book, of whom twenty-one were indigenous converts. Forty-four of the texts of the 1873 hymnbook also remained in use. Many of these are still sung today by congregations in areas of the Cape where British missionaries operated.

This case study of Anglican-Xhosa mission hymnody has shown us that musical forms of expression were the product of input from many different people, each of whom brought a complex range of religious beliefs and cultural backgrounds. Mission hymnbooks such as the early Anglican-Xhosa one examined in this chapter afford us a view into the webs of culture and religious beliefs which travelled across the British world, and that the singing of hymns was one of the many strands connecting people, both across and within the mission field and beyond it.

¹⁰² Jane Carey and Jane Lydon Carey, 'Indigenous Networks: Historical Trajectories and Contemporary Connections', in *Indigenous networks: mobility, connections and exchange*, ed. by Jane Carey and Jane Lydon (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-28 (p. 7).

CONCLUSION

I begin the conclusion by returning us to where this thesis started and that experience in 2008 at St Matthew's, Keiskammahoek. Some of the music I heard in 2008 may well have been sung there since the mission was founded in 1854, and it would be impossible to calculate how many times such pieces of music had been performed in that place, let alone by the people in the congregation on that particular day. In this thesis I have analysed one thirty-year stretch of the history that led to it, namely its initial stages of development when British Anglican missionaries and the indigenous people of the Cape Colony began a musical engagement with each other. While there remain 150 years or so of development still to look at, examining these first thirty years has helped us to understand better how much more was to change between the 1870s and 2008.

My main purpose in this thesis has been to propose a way of studying nineteenth-century British missions in which the analysis is focussed on music. In order to achieve this, I took an archivally-based historical approach, and developed a method for considering the diverse factors which contributed towards the creation of an Anglican-Xhosa style of music-making. In Chapter 1 I explored the place of music in the cultural, religious, and social backgrounds of British missionaries. This chapter showed that most missionaries were not highly-trained musicians. Nonetheless, they had some sort of exposure to musical praxis in their upbringings and backgrounds. Moreover, music had a significant place in the religious and cultural frameworks of the circles in which they moved and became socialised. This was then contrasted in Chapter 2 with an analysis of the soundscape of the territory where the Anglican-Xhosa missions were established before the arrival of missionaries in order to understand what constituted that soundscape and the indigenous musical cultures which were part of it. This revealed that both British missionaries and indigenous people were socialised into certain ways of thinking about music, and that these conceptual frameworks informed their musicianship. In Chapter 3 I examined the mission soundscape after missions had been established. I discussed the sounds that we find recorded in historical documents and posited that not only was the soundscape integral to shaping how people experienced and thought about nineteenth-century mission, but it was also constantly changing because of the contested meanings that were associated with sound. In the final three chapters, I argued that two areas of musical activity – education and hymnody – demonstrate what was involved in

the process which resulted from the meeting of the differing musical worldviews of missionaries and indigenous people.

The close examination of the intertwining of British and indigenous musicality on the Anglican-Xhosa missions has been revealed as not having been characterised simply by coercion and imposition, but rather by contest and compromise over existing and newly-created meanings, and so I have looked at mission musical practices as media in the sense that for the performers music often communicated and expressed meanings which lay beyond the music itself.¹ In this thesis, I have presented a musicology that is not strictly analytical and focussed on close readings of music, where the goal is simply to reveal patterns in internal musical structures. Analysis of music does not, paradoxically, have to be about music, *per se*, but can fruitfully focus on the results of a musical act. While I have, where necessary, analysed hymn texts and melodies in some detail, I have tended to focus on how musical meaning existed beyond a musical act itself. I have demonstrated, for instance, that missionaries attached musically- and culturally-related meanings and significance to objects and artefacts such as musical instruments and books. This approach was partly dictated by the nature of the source material: the S.P.G. mission archive does not contain musical scores or recordings, but, as I have demonstrated, it is nonetheless rich in sonic and musical content. This required developing a creative way to analyse non-musical material, reading across different archives, and drawing on several methodologies. Ultimately, attending to the sonic and musical arts has articulated one aspect of the complex process that lay behind the rooting of Christianity in mission communities and, beyond them, the colonial and settler societies of which these missions were also a part.

Despite looking at extra-musical factors and taking a broad view of music, the shift in musical sounds has been a central focus of my analysis, even if sound has, paradoxically, been absent. We have seen how missionaries were often more concerned with the signification of a musical act rather than with how it sounded. Thus, a ploughshare was able to signify and substitute the function represented by the sound of a bell. This highlights the importance of how silent musical sound created meaning, and that we – in the modern age – need to try and understand what this meaning might have been. What we have seen is that there was often a gap between what missionaries represented in words about sounds and how

¹ Nicholas Cook, *Analysing musical multimedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 261.

they actually sounded, and what this sonic tension has revealed is the variety of factors that had a bearing on the nature of music making.

My methodology has placed music, in this broadly-defined sense, at the centre of its analysis with the objective of enriching our understanding of the encounter between the European and non-European lives and cultures that met each other on nineteenth-century missions. I have shown that music was an indispensable part of life on the Anglican-Xhosa missions, and that it provides a point of focus with which to articulate the different ways that people participated in mission life. That music existed at all was because of involvement from both British missionaries and indigenous people, as a close reading of the sources has revealed. Even if the British missionaries arrived with cultural assumptions about the music they wished to introduce, they found themselves unable to create pristine musical replicas due to factors such as language, locality, acoustic environments, and the availability of personnel. This, I believe, is important, for an understanding of the dynamics that existed between missionaries and converts, and the societies in which they operated.

Over the course of the thirty years covered in this thesis, we have seen how missionaries committed energy and resources towards their musical practice. To a large extent, British missionaries were the chief musical instigators, for with their religion they brought hymns and chants, and other musical commodities such as instruments, all of which were part and parcel of the new Christian way of life they presented to the indigenous people who they sought to convert. But while the musical initiative might have rested initially with British missionaries, they were required to make modifications, and I have drawn attention to the significance of these. Missionaries translated texts, varied the manner of performance, and, most significant of all, relied on the musicality and input of indigenous people. At times pursuing these strategies was a conscious decision, while at other times missionaries were unaware that changes were happening, or unable to maintain control over what was happening. British missionaries were not always in control: they often were only able to perform music when they had sufficiently skilled and trained personnel, and they had to delegate musical responsibility. Ultimately, what this has shown was a gradual shift of agency towards indigenous communities, the results of which were new forms of musical expression and sound.

It has been more difficult to examine critically the reactions and involvement of indigenous people, due to an imbalance in the nature of the historical evidence. The data of

what indigenous converts and non-converts thought of missionary styles of music are patchy and not unified. It is not satisfactory to speculate about every possibility for interpreting what missionaries said about the ways indigenous people responded or behaved. We have to remember that there were intellectual and religious processes that varied from one convert to another even if the sources that would directly articulate this for us might be out of our reach. But in order to overcome this disparity in the evidence, I have emphasised the ways in which indigenous people were actively involved as translators, teachers, or performers. It was because of their involvement and influence that there was music to hear at St Matthew's in 2008 and this offers a compelling reason to investigate and understand better their musical participation and acceptance of the newly-introduced styles I have examined in this thesis. We can conclude that, at times and for some, music was a means of expressing a new way of life and set of beliefs. Moreover, it provided a means through which indigenous converts could demonstrate their multiple subjectivities and motivations both as individual, and as members of a specific faith community.

While this study has focussed on how this all played out in a specific locality, it has provided potential pathways for investigating further how local missions were part of a global musical community.² For instance, I have shown how hymns and hymn singing were international mission phenomena and offered a way for people living apart from each other to connect. Having concentrated on one site in this thesis, the opportunity now exists to deploy this approach to examine and compare other sites of mission for similarities and differences in the ways that mission music was globally understood. The methodology of this thesis lays the groundwork for a global examination of the production of new musical knowledge, one which puts geographically-separated mission fields into the same analytical frame. By drawing comparisons across different sites of mission, along the lines that I have tested in this thesis, we might understand better how the members of often isolated and small missions understood themselves to be part of a wider, and more dispersed community of belief.³ This

² This sort of approach would also build further on, for instance, the contributions found in Reinhard Strohm, ed., *Studies on a global history of music: A Balzan musicology project* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018).

³ See the work of Monique Ingalls for an outline of networked congregations and how they operate. Although this conceptual framework has been applied to contemporary charismatic churches in the United States of America, it would be a useful for thinking about global mission: Monique Ingalls, *Singing the congregation: how contemporary worship music forms evangelical community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018). Also relevant are the

could have involve reading across missionary archives for their musical and sonic content. Such a study would be possible, for example, with even a single archive. The USPG archive, for example, provides material from the West Indies, Australasia, India, and many parts of Africa. Its sonic content has, as yet, been largely overlooked and so this archive, and others like it, present an opportunity to think about the global network of mission and the part(s) that music had in it. There is also scope to explore further the topic of indigenous musical agency, by comparing the different circumstances in which indigenous agents adopted, adapted, or rejected metropolitan musical culture, or the uses that indigenous catechists and missionaries developed for music in their strategies of evangelising. Furthermore, an examination of these global links would enable us to examine and understand better how an indigenous knowledge of missionary music in the nineteenth-century developed and operated, and the ways in which this followed or diverged from the patterns of indigenous intellectual activity outside the sphere of mission.

Music, as I observed earlier, is one of mission's most enduring legacies. The church at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek is one of the few original mission buildings that remains standing. In some of the places I have mentioned in this thesis, the buildings that missionaries built now lie in ruins or have vanished completely. Yet while the visual legacy of nineteenth-century mission work may have disappeared, congregations of Anglicans, and of other missionary denominations, have continued to sing. In this thesis I have tried to explain why this is the case. What must be remembered is that every iteration of a piece of music is different, regardless of how familiar it might be to the performer(s) or listener(s), for every engagement yields new meanings and perspectives for those involved in the experience. Moreover, participation in music requires activity that is not just physical, but also mental and intellectual. Music is experienced through soundwaves which quite literally disturb the space in different ways at different times: it is energy. I have argued that within the Anglican-Xhosa missions, music must be viewed as an entity that was constantly adapting and developing not just in the thirty or so years that I have examined here, but also well beyond them, and that this can be taken as a metaphor for the experience of nineteenth-century missions whose legacies continue to unfold. This thesis, I hope, has harvested some of that energy from the historical sources and shown that reading them for the sonic content reminds us that the lives of our historical actors were organic and undergoing constant change. The

contributions in Monique Ingalls and Muriel Reigersberg, eds., *Making congregational music local in Christian communities* (London: Routledge, 2018).

singing at St Matthew's Keiskammahoek in 2008 was not a fixed moment, nor was it something that had always been so. It was unfolding in that moment and has continued to do so since then.

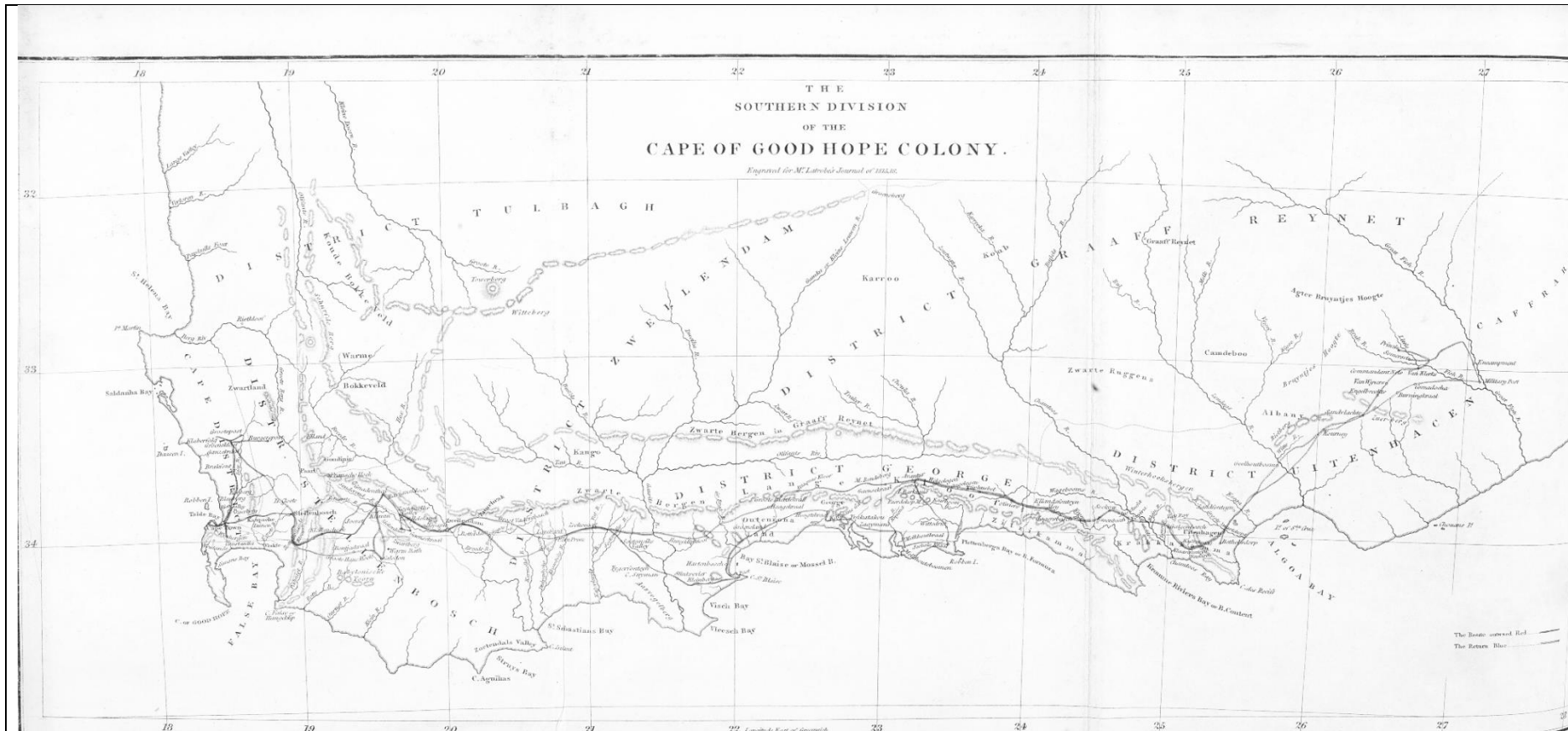
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – The first Anglican missionaries to the Cape.

Name	Date of birth and education (where known)	Dates and details of missionary service (where known)
John Aldred	Born 1830 (Leeds) Worked as Jewellers' Assistant	1859-92
John Thomas Walford Allen	Born 1830 Trinity College, Dublin	1854-7
John Armstrong	Born 1813 Charterhouse Lincoln College, Oxford	1854-6 First Bishop of Grahamstown
Edward Curtis Baldwin	Born ? Hertford College, Oxford	1870-8
Stephen Adonis Bangela	Born ? St Augustine's College, Canterbury	1873-92
Edward Barker	Born 1828	1861-8
Edward Cornford	Born ? St John's College, Cambridge	1857-8
Philip Walker Copeman	Born ?	1846-57
Henry Cotterill	Born 1812 (Ampton, Suffolk) St John's College, Cambridge	1856-71 Second Bishop of Grahamstown
S.N. De Kock	Born ? Previously an L.M.S. Missionary	1858-76
John Gordon	Born ? (Cape Town) South African College	1861-77
Samuel Gray	Born ?	1851-5
Edward Green	Born ?	1858-64
M.R. Every	Born ?	1859-66
Richard Hutt	Born ?	1857-64
Richard Lange	Born ? Previously an L.M.S. Missionary	1857-63
Peter K. Masiza	Born ?	1873-92
Richard McCormick	Cape University	1867-92
William Meaden	Born ?	1856-92
Henry Kitton	Born 1819 St Bees Theological College	c.1859-73
William Llewellyn	University educated	1858-92
Albert Maggs	Born 1840 (Midsomer Norton) Formerly a Wesleyan preacher	1865-1882
Nathaniel Merriman	Born 1809	1848-82

	Winchester College Brasenose College, Oxford	Archdeacon of Kaffraria Dean Of Grahamstown Third Bishop of Grahamstown
William Meaden	Born ?	1855-92
Robert Mullins	Born 1838 (Box, Wiltshire) Chorister at New College, Oxford St Augustine's Canterbury	1854-1913 Worked as a catechist, 1854- 1860 Trained at St Augustine's Canterbury, 1860-62
Alfred Newton	Baptised July 1842 (Deal, Kent)	1867-92
Matthew Norton	Born ?	1860-73
Jonas Ntsiko	Born 1850 St Augustine's College, Canterbury	1873-80
Charles Orpen	Born ?	1848-57
John Oxland	Born 1844 (Plymouth) Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	1874-92
Charles Frederick Patten	Born 1836 (Bury St Edmunds)	1864-83
William Rossiter		1864-92
Horace Smith	Born 1832 Durham University	1856-79
Frederick St Leger	Born ? Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	1865-71
Joseph Ware Sloan	King's College, London (LLB)	1858-74
Horace Smith	Born 1832 Durham University	1857-9
Robert Stumbles	Born ?	1868-92
Peter J. Syree	Bonn University	1857-64
Charles Taberer	Born 1843 (Nuneaton) Nuneaton Parish Church	1862-92
William Turpin		
William Wallis	Born ?	1858-91
John Wilson	Born 1832 (Lasswade, Scotland)	1859-92
Henry Woodrooffe	B.A. M.A. Christ Church, Oxford	1859-83
Cyril Wyche	Born 1834 (Camberwell, London) Trinity College, Cambridge	1878-81
Sources: (1) C.F. Pascoe, Two hundred years of the S.P.G., volume 2: an historical account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900 (London: The Society's Office, 1901), pp. 893-7; (2) USPG X125: Missionary Roll 1855-69.		

APPENDIX B – Map of C.I. Latrobe’s journey. Latrobe’s journey is indicated by the lines that begin at the Cape. The darker line indicates the outwards journey, which set out in a north easterly direction, and then carried on eastwards towards Algoa Bay, and the lighter line indicates the return journey which was followed a more southerly route.



Source: C.I. Latrobe, *Journal of a visit to South Africa, in 1815, and 1816. : With some account of the missionary settlements of the United Brethren, near The Cape of Good Hope* (London: Seeley, 1818). (Bodleian Library Shelfmark 4° BS. 516)

APPENDIX C – Opening of ‘Daily Prayer’ and ‘Litany’ from *Amaculo Ombedesho* (1866) showing the tonic sol-fa notation. A staff notation transcription of the booklet can be found in Appendix E (The Responses) and Appendix G (The Litany).

UMBEDESHO WEMIHLA NGEMIHLA.

UMFUNDISI. (*Key G.*)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ A \end{array} \right\}$	$T_1 : - \quad D : -$ $A - - - \quad \text{men.}$	
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UMFUNDISI. (*Key D.*)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} Nkosi, yivule imilomo yetu. \\ s_r D \end{array} \right\}$	
--	--

ABANTU.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r : - r \\ du - mo \\ t_1 : - t_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d . d \\ lwak \\ d . d \end{array} \right\}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} M \\ D \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} s : - f \\ du - mo \\ s_1 : - s_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} m . m \\ lwak \\ d . d \end{array} \right\}$

UMFUNDISI. (*Key A.*)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} : m \\ Mau - \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ kauleze ukusisi- \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r : - d \\ ndi - sa, \end{array} \right\}$
--	---	--

ABANTU.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d . d : d \\ u - ku - si - si - za \\ s_1 . s_1 : m_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d . d : \\ Nkos \\ m_1 . m \end{array} \right\}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} M \\ D \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} m . m : d \\ u - ku - si - si - za \\ d . d : d \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d . d : \\ Nkos \\ d_1 . d_1 \end{array} \right\}$

UMFUNDISI.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ Udu\text{miso malubeko kuye uYise, nakuye uNyana : naku} \\ uMoya Oyingcwele; \end{array} \right\}$	
--	--

I-LITANI.

UMFUNDISI. (*Key A or G.*)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ Tixo uYise wasezu- \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r : - d \\ lwini : si- \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ pate ngofefe tina \end{array} \right\}$
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ABANTU.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r : - d \\ lwini : si- \\ s_1 : - s_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ pate ngofefe tina \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\}$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} M \\ D \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t_1 : - d \\ lwini : si- \\ s_1 : - m_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ pate ngofefe tina \\ M_1 \end{array} \right\}$

ABANTU.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} l_1 . l_1 : t_1 \\ a - ba - lu - \\ f_1 . f_1 : r_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d . d : - \\ si - zi. \\ m_1 . m_1 : - \end{array} \right\}$	
$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d . d : s_1 \\ a - ba - lu - \\ f_1 . f_1 : s_1 \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} s_1 . s_1 : - \\ si - zi. \\ d_1 . d_1 : - \end{array} \right\}$	

Tixo Unyana...
Tixo Umoya Oyingcwele...
Mtriniti Oyingcwele...

UMFUNDISI.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} D \\ Zungakumbuli Nkosi izono zetu... \\ ungasiqumbeli kude kube \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} d : t_1 . l_1 \\ ngu - na - pa - \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} r . r : \\ ka - d \end{array} \right\}$
--	--	---

APPENDIX D – Responses for daily prayer with English translation

Umbedesho wemihla ngemihla	Daily Prayer	
First set of responses		
[Confession & Lord's Prayer.] Amen	Confession & Lord's Prayer	A
Nkosi, yivule imilomo yetu. <i>Ize ilushumayeze udumo lwako.</i>	O Lord, open thou our lips. <i>And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.</i>	B
Maukauleze ukusisindise, Tixo. <i>Maukauleze ukusiza Nkosi.</i>	O God, make speed to save us. <i>O Lord, make haste to help us.</i>	C
Udumiso malubeko kuye uYise, nakuye uNyana: nakuye uMoya Oyingcwele; <i>Njengokuba bekunjalo ekuqaleni, kunjalo nakaloku, kwakuya kuhlala kunjalo: kude kube ngunapakade. Amen.</i>	Glory be to the Father, &c. <i>As it was in the beginning, is now, & ever shall be: world without end. Amen.</i>	D
Dumisani iNkosi. <i>Malidunyisawe igama leNkosi.</i>	Praise ye the Lord. <i>The Lord's Name be praised.</i>	E
Yizani, masiculele Enkosini ...	"Invitatory psalms" Psalm 95 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord'	F
Second set of responses		
Ndiyakolwa kuTixo ... Amen	I believe in God, &c. ... Amen.	G
iNkosi maibe kuni. <i>Nakumoya wako.</i>	The Lord be with you. <i>And with thy spirit.</i>	H
Masitandaze. [Umfundisi nabantu] Nkosi, sipate ngofefe. Kristu, sipate ngofefe. Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.	Let us pray. Lord, have mercy upon us. <i>Christ, have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy upon us.</i>	I
Bawo wetu osezulwini ... Amen	[Priest and people] Our Father, which art in heaven, &c. Amen.	J
Nkosi, sibonise ububele bako. <i>Usipe usindiso lwako.</i>	O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us. <i>And grant us thy salvation.</i>	K
Nkosi, sindisa ukumkanikazi. <i>Usive ngofefe sakubizela kuwe.</i>	O Lord, save the Queen. <i>And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.</i>	L
Vatisa abafundisi bako ngobulungisa. <i>Uvuyisa abantu bako abaqashiweyo.</i>	Endue thy ministers with righteousness. <i>And make thy chosen people joyful.</i>	M
Nkosi, sindisa abantu bako. <i>Ulitamsangelis' ilifa lako.</i>	O Lord, save thy people. <i>And bless thine inheritance.</i>	N
Sipe uxolo ngexehsa letu, Nkosi. <i>Ngokuba kungeko wumbi osilwelayo, nguwe wedwa Tixo.</i>	Give peace in our time, O Lord. <i>Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou, O God.</i>	O
Tixo, zenze ngcwele inkliziyo yetu pakati kwetu. <i>Ungasusi kuti Umoya wako Oyingcwele.</i>	O God, make clean our hearts within us. <i>And take not thy holy Spirit from us.</i>	P
The Collects. Amen	[Collects.]	Q

APPENDIX E – The responses transcribed into staff notation

A

A - - - - men.

B

Nkosi, yivule imilomo yetu. Ize ilushumayele u -- du - mo lwa - ko.

C

Mau - kauleze ukusisi - ndi - sa, Ti - xo. Maukauleze u-ku-si - si - za, Nkosi.

D

Udumiso malubeko kuye uYise, nakuye uNyana: nakuye uMoya Oyingcwele; Njengokuba bekunjalo ekuqaleni, kunjalo nakaloku, kwakuya kuhlala ku -

2

nja - lo: kude kube ngunapa - ka - de. A - men.

E

Dumisani i - - - Nko - - - si.

Ma - li - du - - nyi - swe i - ga - ma - le - Nkosi.

F

Yizani, masiculele Enkosini ...

G

Ndiyakolwa kuTixo A - men.

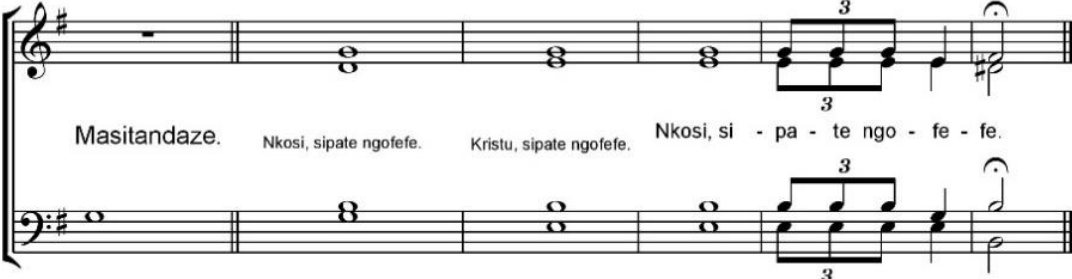
3

H



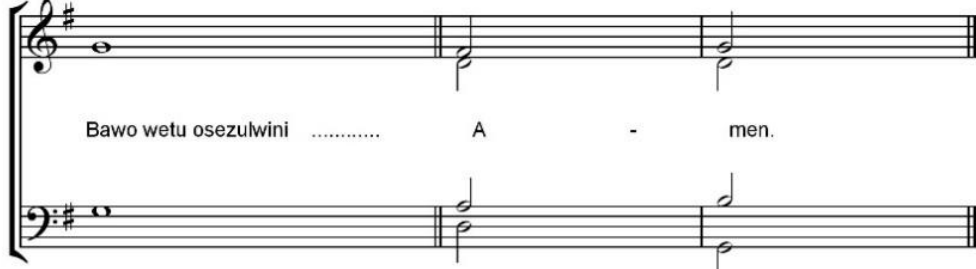
I - Nkosi maibe kuni. Na - ku - mo - ya wa - ko.

I



Masitandaze. Nkosi, sipate ngofefe. Kristu, sipate ngofefe. Nkosi, si - pa - te ngo - fe - fe.

J



Bawo wetu osezulwini A - men.

K



Nkosi, sibonise ubu - be - le ba - ko. Usipe usi - nsi - so lwa - ko.

L



Nkosi, sisindisa u - ku - mka - ni - kazi. Usive ngofefe sakubi - ze - la ku - we.

4

M

Vatisa abafundisi bako ngo - bu - lu - ngi - sa. Uvuyise abantu bako
aba - qa - shi - we - yo.

N

Nkosi, sindisa a - ba - ntu ba - ko. Ulitamsangelis' i - li - fa la - ko.

O

Sipe uxolo ngexesha le - tu, Nko - si. Ngokuba kungeko wumbi
osilwelayo, nguwe we - dwa, Ti - xo.

P

Tixo, zenze ngcwele inkliziyo Ungasusi kuti Umoya
zetu pa - ka - ti kwe-tu. wako O-yi-ngcwe-le

Q

Intandwazana zonke. A - men.

APPENDIX F – The Litany with English translation (Percy Dearmer, *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1912), pp. 171-3.)

INVOCATIONS	Tixo u-Yise wasezulwini: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi. <i>Tixo u-Yise wasezulwini: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi.</i>	[O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.]	A
	Tixo u-Nyana um-Kululi wabanti: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi. <i>Tixo u-Nyana um-Kululi wabanti: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi.</i>	[O God the Son, Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.]	
	Tixo u-Moya Oyingcwele, ovela ku-Yise naku-Nyana: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi. <i>Tixo u-Moya Oyingcwele, ovela ku-Yise naku-Nyana: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi.</i>	[O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.]	
	M-Triniti Oyingcwele, onamatamsanqa nobungcwalisa: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi. <i>M-Triniti Oyingcwele, onamatamsanqa nobungcwalisa: sipate ngofefe tina boni abalusizi.</i>	[O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.]	
	Zungakumbuli izono zetu ... ungasiqumbeli kude kube ngunapakade. <i>Sinyamezele, Nkosi elungileyo.</i>	[Remember not, Lord, our offences ... and be not angry with us forever. <i>Spare us, good Lord.</i>]	B
SUFFRAGES 1. In three parts: Deprecations (against evil); Obsecrations (entreaties to be delivered by the power of Christ).	Kuyo yonke inkohlakalo nobubi ... nakuko ukugwetywa okungunapakade; <i>Sisindise, Nkosi elungileyo.</i> Seven other petitions with the same response.	[From all evil and mischief ... and from everlasting damnation. <i>Good Lord, deliver us.</i>]	C
SUFFRAGES 2. In two parts: Intercessions (for others); Supplications (for those	Tina boni siyakukunga ukuba mausive ... ukuze ihambe ngendhlela yenyano; <i>Siyakukunga ukuba mausive, Nkosi elungileyo.</i>	[We sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God ... govern thy holy Church universal in the right way. <i>We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.</i>]	D

making the prayers).	21 other petitions with the same response		
KYRIE AND THE LORD'S PRAYER	Nyana ka-Tixo: siykukunga ukuba mawusive. <i>Nyana ka-Tixo: siykukunga ukuba mawusive.</i>	[Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.]	E
	Mvana ka-Tixo: esusayo izono zelizwe. <i>Sipe uxolo lwako.</i>	[O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world; <i>Grant us thy peace.</i>]	F
	Mvana ka-Tixo: esusayo izono zelizwe. <i>Sipate ngofefe.</i>	[O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world; <i>Have mercy upon us.</i>]	G
	Kristu, mausive. <i>Kristu, mausive.</i>	[O Christ, hear us.]	
	Nkosi, sipate ngofefe. <i>Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.</i>	[Lord, have mercy upon us.]	H
	Kristu, sipate ngofefe. <i>Kristu, sipate ngofefe.</i>	[Christ, have mercy upon us.]	I
	Nkosi, sipate ngofefe. <i>Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.</i>	[Lord, have mercy upon us.]	
	Bawo wetu osezulwini ... Amen.	[Our Father ... Amen.]	

APPENDIX G – The Litany transcribed into staff notation

UMFUNDISI.

A

Tixo uYise wasezu - lwini: si - pate ngofefe tina boni a - ba lu - si - zi.

ABANTU

Tixo uYise wasezu - lwini: si - pate ngofefe tina boni a - ba - lu - si - zi.

Tixo Unyana ...
Tixo Umoya Oyingcwele ...
Mtriniti Oyingcwele ...

B

UMFUNDISI

Zungakumbuli Nkosi izono zetu ...
ungasiqumbeli kude kube ngu - na - pa - ka - de.

ABANTU

Sinyamezele, Nkosi e - lu - ngi - le - yo.

UMFUNDISI

C

Kuyo yonke inkohlakalo nobubi ...
nakuko ukugwetywa oku - ngu - na - pa - ka - de.

2 ABANTU

Sisindise, Nkosi e - lu - ngi - le - yo.

UMFUNDISI

D

Tina boni siyakukunga
ukuze ihambe nge - ndhle - la ye - nya - ni - so;

ABANTU

Siyakukunga ukuba mausive, Nkosi e - lu - ngi - le - yo.

UMFUNDISI

E

Nya - na ka - Ti - xo: siyakukunga ukuba ma - wu - si - ve.

ABANTU

Nya - na ka - Ti - xo: siyakukunga ukuba ma - wu - si - ve.

UMFUNDISI

F

Mvana ka-Tixo: esusayo i - zo - no ze - li - zwe.

ABANTU

3

Sipe u - - - - - xo - lo lwa - ko.

UMFUNDISI

Mvana ka-Tixo: esusayo i - zo - no ze - li - zwe;

ABANTU

Si - pa - te ngo - fe - fe.

UMFUNDISI

G

Kri - stu, mau - si - ve.

ABANTU

Kri - stu, mau - si - ve.

UMFUNDISI

H

Nkosi, si - - pa - te ngo - fe - fe.

Kristu, sipate ngofefe.
Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.

4

ABANTU

Nkosi, si - pa - te ngo - fe - fe.

Kristu, sipate ngofefe.
Nkosi, sipate ngofefe.

UMFUNDISI NABANTU

Bawo wetu osezulwini .. A - men.

APPENDIX H – Alphabetical index of *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873)

The information provided in the first four columns is taken from *Incwadi Yamaculo* (1873). The tune names provided in the fifth column ('Tune at thus number') has been added by me and provides the tune found at the number in *Hymns, Ancient and Modern, for use in the services of the church, with accompanying tunes* (London: Novello, 1861) and *Hymns Ancient and Modern, for use in the Services of the Church, with accompanying tunes [...], with Appendix* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1868).

First Line	Number	Section	Tune from A&M	Tune at this number
Abangcwele banoyolo	XXXVI	Ngemihla Yabangcwele	204	ROCKINGHAM
Ap' ilanga lihambayo	XXI	Amaculo Okubonga	196	ST AIDAN
Bawo owasezulwini	II	Amaculo Akusasa	2	MELCOMBE
Bongani i-Nkos' U-Tixo	XXIII	Amaculo Okubonga	197	ST ANN
Bongani in-Kosi	LIII	Imbandazelo Zika-Kristu	42	ADESTE FIDELIS
Dumisan' uTixo nonke	XXVI	Amaculo Okubonga	136	OLD HUNDREDTH
Dumisani U-Tixo	XX	Amaculo Okubonga	24	VIENNA
Hambani Ba-Kristu	LVII	Ukusekwa Kwe-Kerike	385	ST ALBAN
Imin' ipelile	VII	Amaculo Angokuhlwa	368	EUDOXIA
Izono zam zininzi	XII	Amaculo Okutandaza	96	REDHEAD No. 47
Kaloku sindulule	LV	Kwakugqitywa	12	ST PETER
NKOSI		Umbedesho		
Kristu Umkululi wetu	XXVIII	Amaculo Okubonga	196	ST AIDAN
Kwaye kuko abalusi	XLIX	I-Krisimasi	44	WINCHESTER OLD
Ngcwel Ngcwele	XLVI	ICAWA YO-MTRINITI	196	ST AIDAN
Ngcwele				
Ndakuqala ikuruse	LII	Imbandazelo Zika-Kristu	101	ROCKINGHAM
Ndikude ku-Bawo	XI	Amaculo Okutandaza	176	LYTE
Ndiyakubulela	I	Amaculo Akusasa	170	TROYTE No. 1
ke'NKOSI yezulu				
Ngalemmini yako NKOSI	XVI	Amaculo Okutandaza	82	ST PHILIP
Ngobabina bonke aba	XXXVII	Ngemihla Yabangcwele	255	ALL SAINTS
Njengokuba	VI	Amaculo Angokuhlwa	12	ST PETER
sekuhlwile				
Nkos' ukuhlwa fufikile	III	Amaculo Angokuhlwa	10	TALLIS
Nkosi Bawo sikangele	XIX	Elokucela Imvula	80	ST MARY
Nkosi ndiyakudumisa	XXIX	Amaculo Okubonga	59	STUTGARD
Nkosi ngobusuku obu	V	Amaculo Angokuhlwa	11	HURSLEY
Nkosi sihlangele	IX	Amaculo Okutandaza	SM	N/A
Nkosi sip' uncedo	X	Amaculo Okutandaza	187	BEDFORD
Iwako				
Nkosi Tixo Mtriniti!	XVII	Amaculo Okutandaza	137	CAPE TOWN
Nonke enikulomhlaba	XXII	Amaculo Okubonga	136	OLD HUNDREDTH
Pezulu e-Nkosini	XXIV	Amaculo Okubonga	146	INNOCENTS
Sinencwaba e-NKOSINI	XXXVIII	Ubaptizesho	210	MARTYRDOM
Singaboni, sinetyala	XIII	Amaculo Okutandaza	80	ST MARY

Singekashiy' ndhlu yako	LIV	Kwakugqitywa Umbedesho	17	ST MATTHIAS
Sitand' indhlu yako	L	Indhlu ka-Tixo	164	QUAM DILECTA
Tixo Bawo nxa ndisati	XVIII	Amaculo Okutandaza	170	TROYTE No. 1
Tixo Nkosi yezihlewele	XXXI	Amaculo Okubonga	161	ST STEPHEN
Tixo onamandhla onke	XV	Amaculo Okutandaza	LM	N/A
Tixo ongunapakade	LVIII	Ukusekwa Kwe-Kerike	12	ST PETER
Tixo ungumncedi wetu	XIV	Amaculo Okutandaza	197	ST ANN
U-TIXO uyasebenza	LVIX	Ukusekwa Kwe-Kerike	192	LONDON NEW
Ukukonza eNkosini	XXXII	Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo	n/a	
Umkululi Esahleli	XLIII	Immini Ye-Cawa	139	ST CUTHBERT
Unyukil' uKristu: kanti	XLV	Ember Weeks	214	DUNDEE
Uvukil' uYesu namhla' Alleuia	XLI	IPASIKA	107	EASTER HYMN No. 1
Uyindhlela yenyano	XXX	Amaculo Okubonga	n/a	N/A
Velis' ukukanya kwako	XXXIX	Umtendeleko Ongcwele	44	WINCHESTER OLD
Wasizek' isonka YESU	XL	Umtendeleko Ongcwele	214	DUNDEE
Wena Moni udiniwe	XXXIII	Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo	299	STEPHANOS
Wena NKOSI yezihlewele	LVI	Ukusekwa Kwe-Kerike	241	COMMANDMENTS
Yanga inkiziyo yam	XXXV	Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo	64	DIX
Yerusahme engcwele	LI	I-Yerusaleme	142 (Part III)	EWING
Yesu izibele zako	XXVII	Amaculo Okubonga	147	ST FULBERT
Yesu Langa lompefumlo	IV	Amaculo Angokuhlwa	11	HURSLEY
Yesu! wena uyindhlela	XXV	Amaculo Okubonga	6	ANGELS
Yiba netaru NKOSI	VIII	Amaculo Okutandaza	81	ST BRIDE
Yicawa namhla Nkosi yam	XLII	Immini Ye-Cawa	130	WINCHESTER OLD
Yinto eyoyikekayo	XLVII	Ngomhla Womgwebo	214	DUNDEE
Yiza MOYA oyingcwele	XLIV	Ukubekwa Kwezandhla	211	MELCOMBE
Yizani Makolwa!	XLVIII	I-Krisimasi	42	ADESTE FIDELIS
Zicaka ze-Nkosi	XXXIV	Ngenkonzo Ka-Tixo	184	NARENZA

APPENDIX I – The interpretive associations with each directly-translated hymn in *Incwadi**Yamaculo*

First Line, isiXhosa	First Line, English	Translator	Author	Association
‘Ap’ ilanga lihambayo’	‘Jesus shall reign where'er the sun’	J. Ntsiko	Isaac Watts	Psalm 72: ‘his Name shall remain under the sun ... and all the earth shall be filled with his majesty.’ Revelation 11:15: ‘The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.’
‘Hambani Ba-Kristu’	‘Onward, Christian soldiers’	A.J. Newton	Sabine Baring-Gould	2 Timothy 2: 3: ‘Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Christ.’
‘Imin’ ipelile’	‘Now the day is over’	A.J. Newton	Sabine Baring-Gould	The Evening. The hymn makes reference to a worldwide Christian community.
‘Kwaye kuko abalusi’	‘While shepherds watched their flocks by night’	C.F. Patten	Nahum Tate	Luke 2: 8-14: Christmas and the story of the Angels spearing to the Shepherds.
‘Ngcwele Ngcwele Ngcwele’	Holy, Holy, Holy’	A.J. Newton	Reginald Heber	The Trinity; Revelation 4 & 5; Isaiah; Psalm 63: ‘Go God thou art my God: early in the morning will I seek thee.’
‘Ndakuqala ikuruse’	‘When I survey the wondrous Cross’	A.J. Newton	Isaac Watts	The Crucifixion; Galatians 6:14: ‘But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.’
‘Ndikude ku-Bawo’	‘Far from my heavenly home’	A.J. Newton	H.F. Lyte	Psalms 42: ‘When shall I come to appear before the presence of God?’ Psalm 137: ‘Haste thee, O God, to deliver me [...] Thou art my help and my redeemer’.
‘Ngalemini yako NKOSI’	‘Lord, in this Thy mercy's day’	J. Ntsiko	Isaac Williams	Lent; reflection of sins and forgiveness.
‘Ngobabina bonke aba’	‘Who are these like stars appearing’	A.J. Newton	Schenk/F.E. Cox	Based an 18 th century German hymn, translated into English, and then into

				isiXhosa. Refers to the saints around the throne of God.
‘Njengokuba sekuhlwile’	‘As now the sun's declining rays’	A.J. Newton	Coffin/Chandler	Based on an 18th Latin hymn, translated into English and then into isiXhosa. Refers to the evening.
‘Nkos' ukuhlwa fufikile’	‘Glory to Thee, my God, this night’	H.R. Woodroffe	Thomas Ken	Psalm 4: ‘I will lay me down in peace and take my rest.’ Evening.
‘Nkosi sip' uncedo lwako’	‘O help us, Lord; each hour of need’	n/a	H.H. Milman	Second Sunday of Lent
‘Nkosi Tixo Mtriniti!’	‘Three in One, and One in Three’	A.J. Newton	G. Rorison	Based on a fourth-century hymn attributed to St Ambrose of Milan: O Lux beata Trinitas (‘O Trinity of blessed light’)
‘Nonke enikulomhlaba’	‘All people that on earth do dwell’	A.J. Newton	William Kethe	Psalm 100: ‘O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands.’
‘Sinencwaba e-NKOSINI’	‘With Christ we share a mystic grave’	A.J. Newton	J.M. Neale	Colossians 2: 12: ‘Buried with him in baptism, wherein ye are also risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.’
‘Singekashiy' ndhlu yako’	‘Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go’	C.F. Patten	F.W. Faber	Psalm 27: ‘The Lord is my light, and my salvation.’
‘Sitand' indhlu yako’	‘We love the place, O God’	D.W. Dodd	W.H. Bullock/alt. H.W. Baker	Written by the missionary William Henry Bullock (1798-1874) for his mission at Trinity Bay, Newfoundland.
‘Tixo Bawo nxa ndisati’	‘My God, my Father, while I stray’	A.J. Newton	Charlotte Elliot	Refers to the Lord's Prayer, 'Thy will be done', sin and forgiveness.
‘Tixo Nkosi yezihlwele’	‘O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord’	A.J. Newton	Nicholas Brady	Psalm 84: ‘O how amiable are thy dwellings: thou Lord of Hosts!’
‘Tixo ungumncedi wetu’	‘O God, our help in ages past’	A.J. Newton	Isaac Watts	Psalm 90: ‘Lord, thou hast been our refuge’ and ‘the glorious Majesty of the Lord be upon us’.
‘U-TIXO uyasebenza’	‘God moves in a mysterious way’	n/a	William Cowper	John 13: ‘What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.’ Genesis 40: 8 where God

				appears to Joseph in a dream.
‘Umkululi Esahleli’	‘Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed’	A.J. Newton	Harriet Auber	Whitsunday, the Holy Spirit
‘Unyukil’ uKristu: kanti’	‘Christ is gone up; yet ere He passed’	A.J. Newton	J.M. Neale	John Chapter 20, verse 21: ‘as my Father hath sent me, even so I send you.’
‘Uvukil’ uYesu namhla’ Alleuia’	‘Jesus Christ is risen to-day, Alleluia’	B.L. Key	Anon/Lyra Davidica	Easter, based on an 18 th -century Latin hymn, translated into English and then into isiXhosa.
‘Wena Moni udiniwe’	‘Art thou weary, art thou languid’	C.F. Patten	Stephen the Sabaite/ J.M. Neale	Based on an 8th century Greek hymn, translated into English and then into isiXhosa. The main theme here is redemption.
‘Wena NKOSI yezihlwele’	‘O Lord of Hosts, Whose glory fills’	J. Ntsiko	J.M. Neale	Foundation of a Church
‘Yerusahme engcwele’	‘Jerusalem the golden’	T. Liefeldt	Bernard of Morlaix/J.M. Neale	Based on a 12 th century hymn by Bernard of Cluny, translated into English and then into isiXhosa. The main themes is about eternal life and paradise.
‘Yesu izibele zako’	‘Jesus, Thy mercies are untold’	A.J. Newton	Bernard of Clairvaux/E. Caswall	Based on a 12 th century hymn translated into English and then into isiXhosa.
‘Yesu Langa lompefumlo’	‘Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear’	A.J. Newton	John Keble	Luke 24: 29: ‘Abide with us’. The main theme is the presence of Christ using the image of the Sun to represent his constant presence.
‘Yiba netaru NKOSI’	‘Have mercy, Lord on me’	A.J. Newton	Nahum Tate	Psalm 51: ‘Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness.’
‘Yiza MOYA oyingcwele’	‘Come Holy Ghost, Creator blest’	A.J. Newton	Charlemagne/E. Caswall	The Holy Spirit, Confirmation, Whitsunday/Pentecost.
‘Yizani Makolwa!’	‘O come, all ye faithful’	A.J. Newton	Anon/F. Oakeley	Christmas. A reflection on the story of Christmas.
‘Zicaka ze-Nkosi’	‘Ye servants of the Lord’	A.J. Newton	Philip Doddridge	Luke 12: 37: ‘Blessed are those who servants whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching.’; Holy Communion

APPENDIX J – The Benedicite: Parallel Text in English and isiXhosa. Source: *Incwadi yemitandazo* [=The Book of Common Prayer in isiXhosa] (London: Watts, 1865)

O all ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nonke nina misebenzi ye-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina zingelosi ze-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mazulu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Waters that be above the Firmament, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina manzi angapezu kwesibakabaka, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O all ye Powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nonke nina mandhla e-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Sun, and Moon, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina langa nenyanga, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Stars of Heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina zinkwenkwezi zezulu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi: yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Showers, and Dew, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina zimvula nombete, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Winds of God, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mimoya ka-Tixo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Fire and Heat, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mililo nobushushu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Winter and Summer, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina busika nehlobo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Dews, and Frosts, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mibete neqabaka, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Frost and Cold, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina qabaka nengqele, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Ice and Snow, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mkence nekepu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Nights and Days, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina busuku nemini, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.

O ye Light and Darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina kukanya nobumnyama, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Lightnings, and Clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mibane namafu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O let the Earth bless the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Umhlaba mawuyidumise i-Nkosi: uyibonge, uyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Mountains and Hills, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina zintaba nenduli, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O all ye Green Things upon the Earth, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nonke nina zinto eziluhlaza ezisemhlabeni, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Wells, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina mitombo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Seas and Floods, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina zilwandhle nemilambo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Whales and all that move in the Waters, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever	Nina minenga nako konke okushukumayo emanzini, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O all ye Fowls of the Air, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nonke nina zintaka zezulu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O all ye Beasts and Cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nonke nina zinkomo nezilo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Children of Men, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina lusapo lwabantu, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O let Israel bless the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.	O-Sirayeli mabayidumise i-Nkosi: bayibonge, bayipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina bapriste be-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina zicaka ze-Nkosi, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nin' omoya nemipefumlo yabalungileyo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.
O ye holy and humble Men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.	Nina bangcwele nabalulamileyo ngenkliziyo, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.

<p>O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever.</p> <p>Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost:</p> <p>As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.</p>	<p>Nina Ananiyasi Azariyasi no-Misayeli, yidumiseni i-Nkosi : yibongeni, niyipakamise kude kube ngunapakade.</p> <p>Udumiso malubeko kuye u-Yise, nakuye u-Nyana: nakuye u-Moya Oyingcwele; Njengokuba bekunjalo ekuqaleni, kunjalo nakaloku, kwekuyakuhlala kunjalo: kude kube ngunapakade. Amen</p>
<p>Sources: <i>The Book of Common Prayer</i> (Oxford: 1860). <i>Incwadi yemitandazo = Book of Common Prayer in isiXhosa</i> (London, 1865).</p>	

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